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THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

NEW HAMPSHIRE CHURCHES AND THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

A DISSERTATION

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MASTER OF ARTS

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

BY

HARRIET E. WORTHINGTON

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FORWORD

"THE WISE AND SAGACIOUS CLERGYMAN, THOMAS HOOKER, DECLARED THE PRINCIPLE THAT THE FOUNDATION OF AUTHORITY IS BASED IN THE FREE CONSENT OF THE PEOPLE . . . (THE VOICE OF A CLERGYMAN IN THE WILDERNESS SPEAKING THE WORDS OF EMPIRE!) . . . IT WAS BECAUSE RELIGION GAVE THE PEOPLE A NEW IMPORTANCE AND A NEW GLORY THAT THEY DEMANDED A NEW FREEDOM AND A NEW GOVERNMENT."

CALVIN COOLIDGE

(In an address delivered before the Y. M. C. A. at Albany, New York, April 13, 1923)

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INTRODUCTION

SIGNIFICANT POINTS IN EARLY NEW HAMPSHIRE HISTORY

Five Indian captives from the shores of New England were the source from which Sir Ferdinando Gorges - "the father of American colonization" - conceived his great desire to make plantations in the New World. These natives were brought into Plymouth harbor by Captain Weymouth, in 1605. Gorges himself says, "this accident must be acknowledged the meanes, under God, of putting on foote, and giving life to all our Plantations".[1] His colleague, John Mason, had been Governor of Newfoundland, and on his return was appointed Secretary of the Plymouth Council, under which all the original grants in New England were made.

Under these men there were established two settlements on the Pascataqua River, both of which belonged definitely to what is known as "the Plantation-type" of colony (usually called "a Proprietary or Corporation Colony"). That is, all of the original emigrants to the shores of the Pascataqua were either servants or officers of the trading corporation whose seat was in Old England.[2] The first arrival was David Thomson in the good ship "Jonathan" (1623); he and his company put up at Little Harbor.* Soon after (William and) Edward Hilton brought out another shipload of 'servants' and materials and established the first permanent settlement at Hilton's Point (or Dover Point).[3] These ~~early~~ first settlements were referred to by early Massachusetts writers under various names; William Bradford

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1. Gorges, "A Briefe Narration of New England" (p. 8 in Baxter's Reprint).
2. See Belknap, Hist. of New H., I, 14-- re 'a fresh supply of servants' (1634).
3. See the series of controversial articles by Page, Scales, Moyer, and Libby, in The Granite Monthly, LIV (1922), 205, 269, 153, and 364.

* Thomson himself was an 'indentured servant', i.e. he was bound to render service to the company for a term of years. His indenture has been printed in Vol. 2 of the New H. Genealogical Record. The original Mss. is in the possession of the Massa. Historical Society.

We used the John Farmer edition of 1831 (2 vols. in one)

refers to Thomson's settlement as 'Paskataway'.[1] Edward Winslow refers to the same as 'Pascatoquack'.[2] Christopher Levett clears up this confusion for us, by saying: "The next place I came to was Pannaway" -(the Indian name for the Little Harbor site - nowadays called Odiorne's Point)[3] - - - "where one M. Thomson hath made a Plantation . . About two English miles further East I found a great River and a good harbour, called Pascattaway".[4] This indicates that the whole region around the Pascataqua River was referred to under one general name (Paskataway, Pascattaway, or Pascatoquack) in just the same way as it is today.[5] As late as 1663, this region is still designated by an English traveler as 'Pascataway' or 'Pascatique'.[6]

The division of New Hampshire into the Upper and Lower Plantations, and the return of Captain Wiggins with about thirty families, in 1633, marks the real beginning of organized community life in this colony. They proceeded to establish a compact town on Dover Neck - thus reinforcing the original settlement at Dover Point - (or Dover Neck). They first called this town Bristol, then Northam (1739) and finally Dover (1651).

Meanwhile the original settlement at Little Harbor had been largely dispersed, and in its place we find out a small group of colonists in the Lower Plantation, located at Strawberry Bank. By 1653 they had become sufficiently

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1. Bradford's History "Of Plimoth Plantation", p. 185 in the Massachusetts General Court Reprint.
2. Winslow, "Good Newes from New England", pp. 350-357, of Young's Reprint in Chronicles of the Pilgrim Fathers.
3. Hackett, Portsmouth Records, p. V.
4. Levett, "A Voyage into New England," p. 90 in Baxter's Christopher Levett of York.
5. This region is called 'Piscataway' by early Quaker writers and Jones says that the name included the meetings 'both in New Hampshire and Maine'. (The Quakers in the American Colonies, p. 119).
6. Josselyn, An Account of two voyages to New England, pp. 31 and 150-3.

numerous, however, to apply to the General Court of Massachusetts for incorporation as a town - asking that their name be changed to Portsmouth. The Court acceded to this and also made them a large grant of land on the mainland - though they added the reservation that they were 'leaving the proprietors to their just rights and interests'.[1] This enlarged settlement is referred to by Tuttle, as follows; "The first considerable settlement in New Hampshire was made on Great Island (now New Castle) and there, for the next seventy-five years, was the seat of government of the Province".[2]

This brings us to one of the curious features regarding early New Hampshire settlements, namely, that of the four original towns, Northam (Dover), Strawberry Bank (Portsmouth), Exeter, and Hampton, only one of them was ever formally incorporated, and that one by the General Court of Massachusetts;[3] In the case of Exeter this informal status was the natural outcome of Wheelright's having bought his lands of the Indians --though reserving to them 'free liberty of fishing, fowling, hunting, and planting' within the limits of the deed.[4] How natural then that here at Exeter should have been established the first independent township republic in the New World. "It was an infant democracy founded on the Bible".[5] In the case of Hampton, we can find no record of its having ever been formally incorporated, although it was settled (1638) under the direct supervision of the General Court of Massachusetts, who considered that the territory came within the limits of their grant from the Plymouth Council.[6] Both Exeter

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1. State Papers of New H., XXIV, 267.
2. Tuttle, Historical Papers, Chapter I, p. 103.
3. State Papers of New H., XXIV, 134, 695, and 743. Dover was incorporated as a city by the State of New H. in 1855. See Americana, Vol. VII
4. Belknap, Hist. of New H., I, 5.
5. Stackpole, Hist. of New H., I, 43-44.
6. Joseph Dow, in his Historical Address delivered at Hampton, says that the settlement 'was not allowed to become a town' until June, 1639. (p.7)

and Hampton assumed corporate functions, however, at an early date.

This influence of Massachusetts over the early affairs of New Hampshire was further strengthened by the union which took place in 1641. At that date the four towns united in asking Massachusetts to take them under her care. Belknap says that "had not the wiser people among them sought a union with Massachusetts, in all probability the settlements must have been deserted".[1] Massachusetts was so glad of this opportunity to extend her authority that she readily granted the concession demanded by the towns; namely, that 'the Test' by which Massachusetts required all voters and office-holders to be church members, was dispensed with, so far as New Hampshire was concerned.[2] When, in 1679, New Hampshirites learned that the Masonian heirs were trying to have the King dissolve the union, they petitioned the King to annex them to that province. And when Usher arrived in Portsmouth as Deputy Governor of the newly constituted Royal Province of New Hampshire, "the people submitted with extreme reluctance to being under a government distinct from Massachusetts".[3]

Not only was New Hampshire thus closely bound to Massachusetts politically, but the manner in which all but the first two settlements were made greatly strengthened this tie; that is, we know of only two towns, Dover and Portsmouth, whose inhabitants came to New Hampshire directly from overseas.[4] (This, in spite of the fact that all of the four original towns were maritime, being on tide-water as far inland as Dover.) In the case of Exeter, "the first settlers

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1. Belknap, Hist. of New H., I, 17.
2. Ibid., p. 31 Snow says this occurred 2 yrs. after their union. (Hist.Add.,p.11) The cordial relations between the two colonies is further illustrated by the large donations made by the New H. towns toward the erection of a new brick building at Harvard, in 1669. (Belknap, p. 64)
3. Ibid., pp. 123-4.
   Bell says that up to this date New H. should be spoken of as 'Colonial'; afterwards, as 'provincial'.
   Collections of the New H. Hist. Society, VIII, 455.
4. Even the Dover settlers of 1633 landed first at Salem, Mass., and went overland to Dover Neck.

were composed in about equal proportions of Wheelright's parishioners from Mont Wollaston, in Massachusetts, and of his friends and connections lately arrived from England".[1] And in Hampton we find that "of the seventy-five original grantees who threw in their lot with Stephen Bachiler, two-thirds were from eastern England . . . These people had arrived in Massachusetts in 1635-7," i.e., some three years previous to settling at Hampton.[2] During the middle period of New Hampshire settlement, the Scotch-Irish began coming to southern New Hampshire, in large numbers (in 1719), via Boston, 'the Hub' and distributing centre for all of northern New England. And finally, when "The Great Migration" of 1761-71 set in, the whole tide of new settlers which poured up the valleys of the Merrimack and Connecticut Rivers, was composed of those who had lived in Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Rhode Island. During that decade permanent settlements were commenced in about one-third of all the present towns in this State.[3] Thus were the two Commonwealths of New Hampshire and Massachusetts bound together not only socially and politically,[4] but - as ensuing chapters will show, in detail - the introduction and organization of the various religious denominations was such as to bind New Hampshire to her Mother Colony of Massachusetts by an even stronger tie.

Another very significant feature of New Hampshire's settlement lies in the fact that but one representative ~~member~~ of the Old World nobility ever settled here, and that even that one left no posterity. Sir Francis Champernowne -

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1. Bell, Hist. of Exeter, p. 11
2. Sanborn, V., The Grantees and Settlement of Hampton, p. 22.
3. Lawrence, The New H. Churches, p. 14.
4. From 1699-1741 (forty-two years) Massa. and New H. had but one Royal Governor between them. These made their residence in Boston, of course, whither papers were forwarded for their signatures.

youngest son of an English Lord, and kinsman of Gilbert, Raleigh, and Gorges - settled at Greenland about 1639, and throughout his long years of residence on the Pascataqua was a loyal supporter of the proprietary authority of Sir Ferdinando.

> "Here dwelt for many years that noblest born and bred of all New Hampshire's first planters. Grand old English oaks planted (as tradition has it) by the 'Captain's' own hands, still lift their vigorous heads over the fertile meadows - true Herne's oaks, unique in New Hampshire, a scene as beautiful as that from Windsor Castle over Duchet Mead".[1]

With the passing of this nobleman, we may almost say of New Hampshire, as a whole, what Scales has said of the town of Strafford, viz.; "There was absolutely no aristocracy and no proletariat; no man who did not meet his neighbor on equal terms".[2] True, there were communities like Nutfield (Londonderry) where "the Wentworths and many loyal subjects to the Crown formed almost a separate colony in the town" - known as "The English Range."[3] True, also that the first settlers at Concord were carefully selected from various towns in Massachusetts by a Committee of the General Court,[4] (on the basis of character and means); and that no newcomer was permitted to settle at Hampton without the permission of the Freemen.[5] All the foregoing to the contrary, the student must admit that the social fabric of New Hampshire, as woven during the pre-Revolutionary days,

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1. Tuttle, Historical Papers, p. iii, note. (Chapter I, "Sir Francis Champernowne".)
2. Scales, Hist. of Strafford Co., p. 403.
3. Manchester Hist. Assoc. Collections, VI, p. vii (Introduction)
4. Bouton, Hist. of Concord, p. 59.
5. This permission could not easily be secured as is shown by the vote passed by the Freemen in 1639; to wit; "Liberty is given to Mr. Fuller, of Ipswich to come and sit down here as a planter and smith, in case he bring a certificate of approbation from the elders".
   Dow, Hist. Address at Hampton, p. 12.

was of a remarkably homogeneous and even texture.

Another important reason for this social democracy was the breakdown of the English system of land tenure which the Proprietors of colonial New Hampshire (and their heirs) had tried to establish there. The Masonian Controversy was of too complicated a nature for us to more than mention here. But the importance of its outcome is shown in a recent address at Portsmouth;

> "The successful opposition of the settlers to the attempts to collect quit rents, and the consequent defeat of the English system of land tenure, with its inevitable stratification and gradation of society, were of incalculable importance in the development of a commonwealth whose very corner-stone was to be the social and economic liberty of the individual".[1]

Thus we see why we might naturally look to provincial New Hampshire for a solidarity of public opinion on any great question. And when we examine later into the forces which molded and controlled public opinion during the revolutionary period - we shall see what a fertile soil was here offered for the rapid spread of political propaganda.

During all these years of New Hampshire's development there had been pushing up, beside her, the beginnings of two other states - Maine and Vermont. But Maine was not separated from Massachusetts and admitted to the Union until 1820; while "The New Hampshire Grants", or Vermont, were admitted soon after the close of the Revolution. Thus New Hampshire stands out as the only one of the thirteen original Colonies on the northeastern ~~northern~~ frontier. And when the Peace of 1763 was signed with France - ending many decades of bloody Indian warfare - we find New Hampshire a well-organized Commonwealth of sturdy Anglo-Saxons united by a strong social solidarity, schooled in the arts of self-defense, practised in self-government, and ready to play an important part in the days of crisis and struggle soon to follow.

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1. Snow, Hist. Address . . . at Portsmouth, 1923, pp. 16-17.

(Supplementary Note to the Introduction)

In connection with the Tercentenary Celebration of the first settlement in New Hampshire, a Pageant was given in Portsmouth, August 19, 1923. This historical play "was acted, sung, and danced by citizens of Portsmouth, Dover, Exeter, Greenland, Isles of Shoals, Kittery, Newcastle, Newington, and Rye". In it, Virginia Tanner has given an excellent bird's-eye view of the early history of New Hampshire. Episode I introduces early explorers and characters as follows:

1. Passaconaway - the great Sagamore of Penacook
2. Martin Pring, with the "Speedwell" and the "Discoverer"
3. Father Champlain visits the Indians of the Piscataqua
4. Captain John Smith comes exploring (Isles of Shoals)
5. David Thomson is visited by Captain Miles Standish from the Plymouth Colony

OUTLINE OF CHAPTER ONE

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CHAPTER ONE

SURVEY OF GENERAL RELIGIOUS CONDITIONS

A. Church organization, discipline, doctrine, etc.

(1) There were certain conditions which affected the early life of all the New Hampshire churches. These we will now take into review --- as a background for the chapters which follow. In the first place, the planting of churches was retarded in the early years of New Hampshire history by the non-religious motives of the proprietors and settlers of the Piscataqua Colony. To such a degree did this affect religous institutions, that, "out of twenty-seven or twenty-eight towns in that section of the state, there were not found --- at the end of two centuries --- more than five towns affording an adequate support for the preached gospel".[1]

(2) Secondly, the taxing of all inhabitants of a town, and the granting of the Glebe - (or church lands) - for the support of the gospel ministry, united church interests and town interests very closely. In most early records we find that the first minister was called by the town, and not by a body of church-folk; again, we find instances where the Church and town united in extending a call to a chosen minister.[2] Then the fact that the grants of many towns required the inhabitants to establish the gospel ministry within a specified term of years, (and set aside a generous section of land for the support of a minister) tended to attract unconverted men into the ministerial

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1. Lawrence, The New H. Churches, p. 12. He also notes the formation of the Piscataqua Missionary Society - early in the 1800's as a result of the dirth of churches in eastern New H.
2. Ibid., p. 48. This happened in the case of Londonderry, also (in 1639) where the town appointed 3 men as a committee, to join with the session of the Londonderry Church 'to prosecute a call' for the services of Mr. Wm. Davidson, as minister. (Manchester Hist. Assoc. Collections, V, 225.)

profession,* and to aid in the establishment of churches in communities where there was but little real religious interest.[1] This largely explains the reason why so many of the early churches became extinct. At least twelve of the churches in the Piscataqua region had become extinct by 1856.[2]

(3) Another factor which really retarded the churches was 'the Half-Way Covenant'. This was an arrangement by which unconverted but respectable parents might present their children for baptism without entering into the Church Covenant, or assuming the obligations of full membership.[3] As the disaffection regarding church taxation increased, and the churches were thrown more and more upon their own active membership for support, this large group of Half-Way Covenanters presented a serious problem and a real handicap. (See Stackpole II, 310).

(4) We should also note the general state of flux which characterized church discipline at this period. Many congregations were divided as to whether they would adopt the Cambridge or Westminster platform, i.e. the Congregational or Presbyterian form of church government and discipline. Some of the churches allowed the minister ~~who~~ whom they had called to make his own choice in the matter,[4] and some adopted a mixed form of discipline. In Goffstown, they adopted the name "Congregational-Presbyterian Church".** But this indefinite

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1. Lawrence, The New H. Churches, pp. 318-19, 240 and 376.
2. Ibid., p. 12.
3. Ibid., pp. 48, 126, and 322.
4. Ibid., p. 166.

* This is testified to in the memorials presented to the Synod of Philadelphia by three New England ministers in 1740 - "In these papers the strong conviction is expressed that many of the members of the Synod were in an unconverted state". Hodge, The Constitutional History of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A. (Part II) pp. 16-17.

** Lawrence, The New H. Churches. p. 171.

status did not continue long; sooner or later, practically all the Presbyterian churches were swallowed up by Congregationalism.[1] The reasons for this change are so well stated in a recent thesis, that we take the liberty of quoting at some length:

> "The Presbyterians and Congregationalists differed little in doctrine. Both were Calvinistic in theology, and for this reason there was a tendency for the two to coalesce . . . . The acceptance on the part of the state church (Congregational) of Presbyterian ministers, and the regularity with which they received Presbyterian laymen into their church is evidence that the Congregationalists were not fundamentally opposed to Presbyterian principles. When the Presbyterians, however, attempted to organize and support a church of their own, opposition was at once encountered. They were regarded to some extent as intruders, and were usually driven off, exiled, or absorbed by the colonial church".[2]

(5) Not only in church discipline did this state of 'which' prevail, but also in church organization and doctrine. The organization of a church society usually consisted in the adoption of a mutual covenant by a group of some 6 to 12 men, who simply pledged themselves to a godly walk and to engage in the various ordinances of the church, etc., But there is generally nothing said in regard to articles of faith. In Francestown, the Congregational church was organized in 1773, but Articles of Faith were not adopted until 1811.[3] This is but an extreme instance of a condition which was common to all the New Hampshire churches. An English observer - writing in 1676 - quaintly observes that "what religion they have comes from Boston or 'the Connecticut'".[4] While

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1. This process was even more marked in Maine where all of the former Presbyterian churches became Congregational. See Freeman, "Sketch of Presbyterianism in Maine", New H. Repository, I, (1845-6), 260.
2. Lemley, The Influence of the Churches in the Colony of Massachusetts (1763-83), pp. 51-3. The attitude of the Standing order towards the Presbyterians was, however, much less severe in New Hampshire. (Italics are mine)
3. Lawrence, The New H. Churches, p. 165.
4. Perry, Hist. Collections Relating to the Amer. Colonial Church, p. 44 of Vol. III, on Massa. (Reprint from the Lambeth MSS., no. 841)

this is true in a general sense, these church covenants were purely 'homespun' compositions - penned by the local or visiting divine - and make no bothersome references to exact doctrine.

(5) Again, the general status of many of the early New Hampshire churches was such as to make us wonder "When is a church not a church"? In many cases the settlers built a meeting-house and hired preaching from time to time, as their means allowed. Often the town voted to "settle" a minister when no church organization existed and did not exist even for some years after the minister was settled. And in many places we find the people in scattered settlements meeting in houses, barns, and in the open field - unwilling to forego the privilege of hearing the gospel message, even tho' their poverty prevented the erection of a House of Worship. In our Tables of Statistics we have included only those churches which either had been organized, or which had built a meeting-house and enjoyed regular preaching by a settled pastor. In the Supplementary lists, appended to the Tables, we have included the unorganized groups, in towns where there was occasional preaching or meetings for public worship.

3. Characteristic Features of Church Growth

(1) When we come to the period of church growth and expansion on the western frontier, we find that the 'nascent energy' of new settlements was an important factor, i.e. the desire to begin right. The best example of this is at Concord: It is related that when, in 1725, the surveyors and chain-men went to the site of the old Indian Camping-Ground, at Penacook, they took with them Reverend Enoch Coffin who preached twice, on the Sabbath, in a tent pitched on Sugar Ball plain.[1 & 2] As this was the place 'where Satan, some years ago, had his seat', it was most fitting that it should thus be fumigated of its evil associations

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1. "(a) Journal of the Proceedings of the Committee", etc., in Bouton's Hist. of Concord, p. 70.
2. Bacon says that, in all probability, these surveyors completed the church-fort that had all in readiness for the settlers when they came to Penacook (Concord) Old New England Churches, p. 290

before the arrival of the Puritan settlers. Again, at Newport, the first arrivals were eight young men from Connecticut who, on their very first Sunday at their new home, met together for divine worship under a tree and thus set a precedent which was not to be broken in all the town's later history.[1] At Plymouth, New Hampshire, we have an example of a church which was gathered "not on the ground, but at Hollis, and which went into the wilderness under the banner of Christ as their avowed leader and King".[2] And scarcely a decade after the first families settled at Rochester, the town voted to raise 150 pounds for the support of the Gospel, and five pounds for other town purposes.[3]

(2) One of the most common (and confusing) features of early New Hampshire towns was that they were often strung out for miles along some pleasant stream.* This led sooner or later to the dividing up of the older settlements into several smaller townships as (for example) Hampton, which can name Northampton, South Hampton, and Hampton Falls as its offspring. In the petitions by which the inhabitants secured such subdivisions, the reason given for the desired change is almost invariably like the following (from a petition from certain inhabitants of Duxbury Farm and Mile Strip.[4]) :-

> "We are not sufficiently numerous to settle and maintain a gospel minister, and it is not likely we ever will be.[5] We are at such a distance from the meeting-house that the aged and infirm are utterly unable to attend public worship and it is a great inconvenience to the rest".

This dividing up of the towns often caused a growth in the number of churches without any real growth in membership.

(3) Another rather common element of confusion is the fact that a number of towns sometimes joined forces in the support of public worship - thus making it difficult to locate the church. At Effingham the towns-people "voted

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1. Lawrence, The New H. Churches, p. 466.
2. Ibid., p. 571.
3. Ibid., pp. 340 and 527.
4. Town Papers of New H., XII, 605. (Signed by four Crosbys, et al.)
5. Italics are mine.

* See Stackpole, II, 304.

to unite with other adjoining towns in the support of Reverend John Adams as preacher'. But we are left quite at sea as to where this group should be placed on our map.[1] In the case of the Cornish - Windsor (Vermont) church, the matter is simple: for the Windsor folk raised only one-third of the Pastor's salary, so we located the church at Cornish, where the Pastor resided.[2] The situation is exactly reversed in the case of the Haverhill-Newbury (Vermont) church: so we did not include Haverhill on our Tables of New Hampshire Churches, but placed it in the Supplementary List of Congregational Groups - even tho the Register of New Hampshire for 1768 includes Reverend Peter Powers, of Haverhill, in its list of ministers.[3 & 4]

(4) As for the religious life in the homes of the Puritan settlers who came up from Massachusetts and Connecticut, during the later periods of settlement, it was nurtured and kept strong by the Family Altar. And that the Puritans were accustomed to unburden themselves freely to the Lord is well illustrated in the story of the Bostoner who was a member of the Massachusetts General Court. Governor Shirley had put all the members of the court under an oath of secrecy regarding his plans against Louisburg. But this honest member was so impressed by the novel proposal that he babbled out the secret a few days later - during the course of his family prayers.[5] One of the most interesting features of religion in the Puritan homes of early New Hampshire was the observance of a sun-down to sun-down Sabbath. When 6 o'clock came on a Saturday evening, the churn and kneeding-board were put away, the buzz of the spinning-wheel was hushed, the last armfuls of wood were stacked in the chimney-corner, and even the old granny by the fireside laid aside her knitting. Through all that evening and the next day no unnecessary noise was allowed to disturb the serene quiet and holy calm of the Sabbath. But when the first day's sun dropped

1. No such doubtful cases appear in our Main Tables: See Supplementary Lists for Such.
2. Lawrence, The New H. Churches, p. 436.
3. Ibid., p. 542 and Wells, Hist. of Newbury, Vt., pp. 61-2.
4. Collections of the New H. Hist. Society, I, 281.
5. Belknap, Hist. of New H., I, 269.

behind the western hills, the weekly round of activities was gradually resumed. Of this custom an English traveller observed (in 1747): "They have a greater veneration for the Evening of Saturday than for that of the Lord's Day, itself . . . so that all business is laid aside all over New England by sunset, or six a-clock on Saturday night".[1]

(5) It is easy to form a picture of the general procedure of public worship, in those early towns, from the many descriptions which have come down to us. In a frontier settlement, like Concord, we can picture the goodman and his wife starting from their distant forest home, soon after the peep o' day, with the two youngest children astride of their necks and the older ones of their flock walking behind, along the narrow path,—all eyes and ears open against danger of an Indian attack.* Arrived at the meeting-house, they join the group who are waiting outside for the bell to sound. At its first stroke, the rugged farmer-preacher, Reverend Timothy Walker, steps forth from the door of his house, his lady on his arm, and two blacks following behind.[2] When Reverend Walker has entered the tall pulpit, he places his trusty gun (the best one in the parish) within easy reaching-distance.[3] After the call to worship, the first elder gives out the hymn, line by line. He also 'sets the tune', but each worshipper joins in on his own favorite key. Directly Reverend Walker has given out his text, the sexton turns the hour glass and the congregation settle down to several hours of quiet repose, during the sermon. But presently a gentle snore disturbs the Sabbath calm, and a wary tithing-man slips up on the drowsy one, armed with a long wand. If the offender is a male worshipper, he receives a stout rap on the head with the ball at one end of the wand. If a female, her sensibilities are

1. Neal, Hist. of New England--Civil and Ecclesiastical, p. 252.
2. See "Diaries of the Reverend Timothy Walker" (in the Collections of the New H. Hist. Soc., IX, 123 ff.) for a vivid account of his daily activities on the farm given him by the Concord proprietors. These included haying, logging, plowing, fencing, sheep and cattle raising, hog-killing, cider-brewing, fruit-raising, wheat and barley farming, etc., etc.
3. Lawrence, The New H. Churches, p. 360.

* When they reach the big tree at the foot of the M.H. hill, all stop to put on their shoes, + the young women don clean white stockings, also (Bacon, p. 401)

aroused by drawing the fox-tail brush, at the other end of the wand, lightly across her face.[1] (Meanwhile two tithing-men have taken it upon themselves to walk around town and discover any who were breaking the Sabbath by 'lying at home or in the fields'. For the true Puritan held himself responsible not only for his own, but also for his neighbor's conduct.) Here, as elsewhere, the seats were hinged, + were emphatically banged down at the preacher's Amen! (Baron, 299)

(6) But a survey of conditions affecting the churches would be far from complete did we not make some mention of the Great Awakening of the year 1741. This movement centered around Northampton, Massachusetts, and the powerful preaching of Jonathan Edwards in the Congregational Church there. It spread into southern New Hampshire and brought revival to a large number of churches ~~there~~. Edwards' great theme was one which modern society seems to have largely forgotten- namely, our Personal Responsibility before God for our own actions.

(7) In order to appreciate the peculiar force with which this Awakening struck society, we must call to mind the extreme excitement and hysteria with which the movement was attended. After Whitefield's first visit to New England, there was an outburst of evangelistic activity on the part of a number of Congregational ministers - among them Jonathan Edwards, Jonathan Parsons, and Eleazer Wheelock. When Parsons preached at Lyme on May 14, 1741, "great numbers cried out in the anguish of their souls. Several stout men fell, as though a cannon had been discharged, and a ball made its way through their hearts; some young women were thrown into hysterics fits".[2] "Though most of these evangelists were devout men", says Walker, "some were sheer fanatics, if not lunatics. Of a certain James Davenport it is said that 'wherever he went, the scene of his preaching was almost a riot'". Finally the legislature of Connecticut, as well as a

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1. Batchelder, "Ancient Church-Lore in New England", Granite Monthly, XII (1889), 299.
2. Walker, The Congregationalists, pp. 258-9.

Boston jury, pronounced him insane.[1] And Stackpole gives an even more lurid picture of a revival meeting held at Durham, New Hampshire, as follows:

> "In the midst of a sermon some persons made all manner of mouths, turning out their lips, drawing their mouths awry, as if convulsed, straining their eye-balls, and twisting their bodies in all sorts of unseemly postures. Some were falling down, others were jumping up, catching hold of one another, extending their arms, clapping their hands, groaning and talking. They shouted and danced about in the church, and sang strange songs".[2]

(8) These excesses gave rise to a great many criticisms, of course. In fact such opposition was soon stirred up against Whitefield, and other revivalists of the Awakening, that Jonathan Edwards undertook to write a whole book in which his main thesis was to show that the revival of 1740-1 was 'truly a work of God'. In answer to the complaint that "too much is made of couterfeits and effects on the body" he says;

> "But for (some ministers') speaking of such (bodily) effects as probable tokens of God's presence . . . it seems to me they are not to be blamed, because I think they <u>are</u> so, indeed . . . . because when there have been these outcries I have found . . . a much greater and more excellent effect".

He then goes on to answer "the complaint of too much singing and of religious meetings of children", as follows;

> "There is not so much difference before God between children and grown persons as we are ready to imagine; we are all poor, ignorant, foolish babes, in his sight: . . . I have seen many happy effects of children's religious meetings; and God has seemed often remarkably to own them in their meetings and really descended from Heaven to be amongst them".[3]

(9) Crude and disgusting as much of the hysteria of early revivals may appear to us, however, we must not forget that the people who were spell-bound and electrified by the eloquence of these revivalists belonged to a pioneer society which was still struggling with the rigors of frontier life. If we could gain clearer insight into the monotony, isolation, and social starvation of the

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1. Walker, <u>op. cit.</u>, p. 259.
2. Stackpole, <u>Hist. of New H.</u>, II, 307.
3. Edwards, <u>Thoughts on the Revival . . . in 1740</u>, pp. 258-9 and 271-2.

daily lives of many people who made up these excited audiences, we might then see that these outbursts were but a natural reaction to a very unusual stimulus. The effect of frontier conditions upon American Churches has been made the subject of special study by a recent writer, who says:

> "A much clearer insight into what constitutes the Americanizing of Christianity is to be gained by realizing that our civilization, thus far, has been largely the civilization of a frontier. Frontier contact . . . is the one unifying feature in all the vicissitudes of our national development". [1]

That this frontier contact was unusually potent in New Hampshire, bounded, as it was, by vast stretches of the northern wilderness — we shall see in subsequent chapters.[2] Suffice it to say here, that the influence of the frontier upon New Hampshire church life not only helped to bring about a revolt against the standing order, but it was a strong factor in furthering the coalescence of the Presbyterian churches with the Congregational system - as illustrated by the "Plan of Union between Presbyterian and Congregational Churches on the Frontier", which was drawn up and adopted by the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Churches in 1801. Several other factors affecting early church life in New Hampshire have been reserved until Chapter Five.

(Supplementary Note)

The law, by which all who were able were required to attend public worship, should not be overlooked here. Felt says that, in 1658, Wm. Marsten of Hampton, aged 70, was heavily fined for absence from worship and for having 2 Quaker books in his possession.
(See Felt, Eccles. Hist. of New England, II, 252).

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1. Mode, The Frontier Spirit in American Christianity, p. 11.
2. See Chapter V where we discuss several other general religious conditions.
3. Digest . . . Compiled from the Records of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, pp. 297-9.

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CHAPTER II

INTRODUCTION AND GROWTH OF THE EARLIEST DENOMINATIONS

A. The Congregationalists

(1) The church at Dover.

It was nearly twenty years after the first settlement of New Hampshire before the first church was fully established. Although Dover was settled under the Puritan auspices of Lords Say and Brook, the early settlers were there for gain. This is how an early Doverite expressed the situation - "We are a different race from (the Puritans), never having had any connection with them.[1] Instead of coming here for religious purposes the object of our ancestors was to lumber and fish and trade".[2] This rather exaggerated statement pretty well explains the reason why the first pastor, whom Thomas Wiggin brought over with the settlers of 1633, did not receive adequate support. After only two years this Puritan divine was forced to remove to Boston, and the little flock there was left open to the ravages of several ecclesiastical wolves who succeeded him. After those turbulent, licentious intriguers - Burdett, Knollys, and Larkham - had had their day, the Dover people appealed to Massachusetts to send them a minister.[1] The Bostoners sent them Daniel Maud, a graduate of Cambridge University, under whom they settled down to a peaceful church life. During Reverend Maud's ministry a new meeting-house was built and surrounded by a wooden barricade - built upon an earthen entrenchment.* About this time the drum was discarded, and the people were henceforth summoned to worship by a bell which had been brought from overseas. There is no record as to when the Half-Way Covenant was introduced into

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1. Italics are mine.
2. Lawrence, The New H. Churches, p. 12.

* "Out of this enclosure the settlers made many a sortie to drive off Indians that had surrounded the meeting-house". Ballington, Historic Churches of America, p. 170.

the Dover church, but we do know that it was not abolished until the Revolutionary period, during the pastorate of the illustrious Jeremy Belknap.

(2) The Portsmouth churches.

(a) Here we find the Episcopalian and Congregational interests so interwoven that it is impossible to write the history of the one without touching upon that of the other. When John Mason, the principal patron of the Lower Plantation, died in 1635, he left a thousand acres of land for the maintenance of 'an honest, godly, and religous preacher of God's word'.[1] And as Mason was a loyal Church of England man, we are not surprised to find Richard Gibson, an Episcopalian, as minister to the infant colony at Strawberry Bank, in 1638. One of the earliest supporters of the Church of England, here, was Sir Francis Champernowne, a young nobleman who settled at Greenland about 1638. "From his residence on the Piscataqua he was (doubtless) a constant worshipper at the first chapel in Portsmouth". But Gibson injudiciously opposed the extension of Massachusetts' authority over the Piscataqua and was soon ousted through the influence of the Boston Puritans.[3] "Thereafter", says Tiffany, "church interest in New Hampshire faded out". He doubtless means Church of England interest. For we find that the earliest public act found on record in the Portsmouth Town Books is the granting of the glebe, in 1640;[4] i.e., a certain portion of the land was set apart for the use of the church. And under April 17, 1654, we read; "It is ordered this day that; Mr Richard Cut; John Pickering and Thos. Walford are to place the inhabitants in thear seats in the meeting house. the which is to be don at thear best discretions".[5]

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1. Belknap, Hist. of New H., I, 15.
2. See Hurd, Hist. of Rockingham and Strafford Counties, p. 85.
3. Tiffany, A Hist. of the Prot. Episc. Church, p. 89.
4. Hackett, Portsmouth Records, p. VIII.
5. Ibid., p. 28

(b) Meanwhile Portsmouth had suffered from an invasion of Boston Puritans, soon after 1641. By hook or by crook, these worthies possessed themselves of the principal offices of trust and power, and allotted among their own number a good part of the town's common lands.[1] Thus it came about that when a church was finally established here - in 1640- it was on the Puritan order (Congregational). Dunning says that no provision was made for public worship until 1640, and no church organized until 1671 - 'though a minister was resident there a good part of that time'.[2] This was Joshua Moody, who was chosen by vote of the town in 1668.* And as evidence of their good faith, and readiness to back their minister up, the town ordered a cage to be made for those who slept or took tobacco on the Lord's Day, during the public service.[3] But in 1684, Moody was banished by the Church of England governor, Edward Cranfield. The people continued, however, to employ Congregational ministers and in 1708-12 the famous "Old North Meeting-house" was erected.[4] Nellie Billington says that this little church was the scene of all the town meetings, "and even its ledger was called into requisition to record the number of wolves' heads that were brought in for bounty. These heads were nailed on the meeting-house door". After several decades Portsmouth became one of the wealthiest and most distinguished of the Colonial Capitals; "The elegance and splendor of the old country were reproduced in this part of the new. Cocked hats and gold-headed canes, embroidered waistcoats and gold-laced coats glided up the aisles of the old Meeting-house; while chariots with liveried footmen were standing at the door".[5] It was during this period that the people sat under the ministry of Samuel Langdon - who (after twenty-seven years of faithful service here) was

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1. Fry, New H. as a Royal Province, p. 30
2. Dunning, Congregationalists in America, p. 160.
3. Brewster, Rambles around Portsmouth, pp. 55-6.
4. Historic Churches of America, p. 18.
5. Lawrence, The New H. Churches, p. 121.

* "His preaching must have been powerful, for families came many miles thro the coldest winters-regularly-to hear him preach. (Bacon, p. 362)

called to the Presidency of Harvard College in 1775. Ezra Stiles, of Newport, succeeded him for one year, April, 1777 - June, 1778, and then became President of Yale.*

(3) John Wheelright and the Church at Exeter.

(a) Although the first church organized at Exeter only lasted three years, it possesses a peculiar interest through the character and history of its founder:- John Wheelright was an Oxford University man during the days when Oliver Cromwell was also a student there. Cromwell's remark that 'he was more afraid of meeting Wheelright at football than he had since been of meeting an army in the field'[1] shows us that the founder of Exeter was a fit man to help tame the wilderness, and to be a co-founder of a great commonwealth on the ~~[illegible]~~ furthermost frontiers of civilization. When the four towns came under the authority of Massachusetts, in 1642, Wheelright and his closest adherents removed to Hampton. But soon the sentence of banishment was removed, by Massachusetts, and he returned to New Hampshire and was pastor of the Hampton church for many years.

(b) After Wheelright's departure, the Exeter folk tried to organize another church in their community; thereupon the Massachusetts General Court stepped in and sent them 'a solemn prohibition from forming a church until they had given satisfactory evidence of their reconciliation and fitness'.[2] After nearly ten years the townspeople united in calling Reverend Samuel Dudley. But though he ministered to them for thirty-three years, no church is known to have existed in Exeter in all that time.[3] It was not until 1698 that one was organized; at which time their third minister - ~~Reverend~~ John Clark - was ordained. Things went along peacefully until near the middle of the next century. Then,

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1. Bell, Hist. of Exeter, p. 6.
2. Belknap, Hist. of N. H., I, 63.
3. Lawrence, The N. H. Churches, p. 47.
* For data re the Old South Church of Portsmouth, see Table I, Appendix.

under the influence of "The Great Awakening", a split occurred and the second church at Exeter was formed, with Reverend Daniel Rogers as Pastor. Although it was many years before harmonious relations were re-established between the two congregations, both of these churches grew and flourished, and neither of them seems to have suffered from the effects of the Revolution.

(4) The Hampton Church.

The principal inducement to the early settlement of Hampton was the very extensive salt-marshes found there. This was greatly needed by all the four original towns for the curing of their fish and for furnishing hay* for cattle.[1] But Hampton was not settled from commercial motives, primarily. The people were Puritans who brought their pastor and their church organization with them to Hampton, (like the Pilgrims when they settled at Plymouth.) This man - Reverend Stephen Bachiler - 'may be regarded as the father and founder of the town'.[2] He was well advanced in years when he reached the shores of the New World; so he had not been but one year at Exeter when Reverend Timothy Dalton was associated with him in the ministerial office. He appears to have become rather foolish or flirtatious in his old age; at any rate he was dismissed in 1641 - at the ripe age of eighty years - and Reverend Timothy Dalton took full charge of the church for the next twenty years. This church grew and flourished; and by the beginning of the Revolutionary period, two branch churches had grown up and been separated off from it.

(5) The Period of Greatest Growth.

The period of greatest growth among Congregational Churches was after the Great Migration had set in, in 1760. Table I in the appendix shows that nearly half of the churches were organized after that date - especially those in

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1. Fogg, Statistics and Gazetteer of New H., p. 4.
2. Lawrence, The New H. Churches, p. 63.

* This hay was from the "marsh-grass" which grows abundantlly in such places (see Webster's New Intern. Dict'y, p. 1322)

Grafton, Cheshire, and Hillsboro Counties. This Great Tide of settlers was from the stable church communities of Connecticut and Massachusetts. These newcomers added great strength to the religous forces of New Hampshire besides bringing with them the political philosophy with which the Puritan clergy of those colonies had so thoroughly imbued their Congregations.[1] Concerning this political philosophy, Van Tyne has said that the New England Tory preachers "often stated Locke's theories more clearly than Locke himself!"[2] And Dunning dares to say that "the idea of a government of the people, by the people, and for the people, was conceived in Congregational Churches".[3]

(6) Organization of the New Hampshire Congregationalists.

The establishment of so many new Congregational churches suggests the question of how they were organized among themselves. The Piscataqua Association had already been organized, in 1747, and it is very doubtful that it took into its membership any of these new churches which were established during the period of the Great Migration. On the Contrary, it consisted of only twenty to twenty-five ministers from the older towns near the coast. In its minutes it is designated as "The New Hampshire Association of Ministers".[4] But we have ascertained that it is identical with the "Piscataqua Association" of which Sprague says that Samuel Langdon of Portsmouth was the leading member.[5] Other than this, there was no Association to which the large group of churches on the western and northern frontier belonged during the Revolutionary Period.[6] But we should not overlook the fact that local "Councils" of Congregational Churches often met for the installation of a new pastor, or for deciding disputes between Pastor and People.[7] Of the

1. See Foreword, p. 1.
2. Van Tyne, "The Influence of the Clergy", etc., A.H.R., XIX, 56.
3. Dunning, Congregationalists in America, p. 265.
4. Collections of the New H. Hist. Soc., IX, 1-67.
5. Sprague, Annals of the American Pulpit, I, 456.
6. Lawrence mentions the Windsor Association as existing in 1796 (p.539) but Thompson gives the date as 1822 (Hist. of Vermont, p. 177).
7. Lawrence, The New H. Churches, pp. 277-8, 315, 349, and 51.

Councils for Ordination, the English observer, Neal, wrote in 1747, as follows:

> "The Ordination of Ministers in New England is performed by the Impositions of the Hands of the neighbouring Churches, after the manner of the Presbyterians in England . . . They have one peculiarity in their Ordinations, which is no where else to be met with, that is, the Deputies of the several Churches being assembled in Council, before the solemnity is performed, commission one of their ministers to take the ordained Pastor by the Hand immediately after his Investiture into his office, and in their names give him the Right Hand of the fellowship of the Churches".[1]

(7) The Legal Basis of the Congregational Church.

The legal basis of the Congregational Church establishment was provided by the law of 1714. This was entitled "An Act for the Maintenance and Supply of the Ministry within this Province".[2]

> By the terms of this Act it became lawful "for the freeholders of Every Respective Town within this province Convened in publick Town Meeting, as often as they shall see occasion, to make choice of . . a Minister; and the Minister . . . so made Choice of . . . shall be accounted the settled Minister of such Town. and the Selectmen . . . shall make Rates and Assessments upon the Inhabitants of the Town for the payment of the Minister's Salary . . . in such manner and forms as they doe for defraying other Town Charges".

We were not able to find the name 'Congregational' in any of these earlier church laws. It was not until 1763 that we found the New Hampshire Legislators using this term in order to distinguish the established church in Pembroke (i.e., the Congregationalists) from the Presbyterian group which had gathered there. The above law exempted the Presbyterians 'from paying towards the support of the Congregational Minister' and gave them power to raise money to support one of their own persuasion.[3] Armitage, however, says that when New Hampshire was separated from Massachusetts, in 1679, she retained the Massachusetts law which compelled all citizens to support Congregational churches by public tax.[4] But whether or not Congregationalism was specifically

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1. Neal, Hist. of New England . . . Civil and Ecclesiastical, p. 250.
2. Laws of N. H., II (1702-1745), 145. Italics are mine.
3. Ibid., III (1745-74), 337.
4. Armitage, Hist. of the Baptists, pp. 762-3.

designated by the earlier laws as the established system - which we doubt - certain it is that the law of 1714 does not refer to it by name. Thus there was, strictly speaking, no "Established Church" in New Hampshire. And as an example of how the law worked out, we would mention Londonderry, where the Presbyterians so far outnumbered other sects, that - until 1783 - the Presbyterian church was the "Established Church" of Londonderry; for "all who lived within the limits of this town were accounted members of the Presbyterian Society".[1]

(e) The Preponderance of this Denomination.

In 1776, eighty-four of the 118, or nearly three-fourths, of the New Hampshire Churches were Congregational.[2] In other words, only one-fourth of the churches were 'dissenters' from the 'dissenters'. In a subsequent chapter we will discuss the significance of this great preponderance of Congregationalists, as regards the molding of public opinion during the critical hours of decision - just prior to the revolt in New Hampshire - when leading men were still weighing the momentous question of loyalty, or disloyalty, upon the delicate balances of their individual consciences.

3. THE EPISCOPALIANS AND THE "S. P. G."

(1) The Portsmouth Church; and the Pascataqua Parish.

When we remember that an Episcopal clergyman ministered to the colonists at Strawberry Bank as early as 1638, it is amazing to find that the Diocese of New Hampshire was not erected until the same year as that of Missouri (1884)! We shall now trace the slow development of this church in early Colonial days.

(a) After the suppression of Richard Gibson and the first Episcopalian church at the Bank, there was an interlude of 90 years before this denomination was again introduced into New Hampshire. During this interval the Pascataqua

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1. Lawrence, The New H. Churches, p. 91.
2. See Table II in the Appendix.

was twice visited by the S. P. G. Missionary, ~~William~~ George Keith, whose travels extended 'between North Carolina and Piscataway River, inclusive'.[1] There is also said to have been an Episcopal Church on Gowell's Hill, Kittery, during this period,[2] (from 1728 on).

(b) When the Church of England was re-introduced into New Hampshire, it was under the auspices of the "S. P. G." (Society for the Propagation of the Gospel) in London. As early as 1702, the Bishop of London had received a petition from "a Church in New Hampshire" for a minister to be sent to it.[3] Before any aid had been received from the Society, however, a number of Portsmouth gentlemen got together and erected a neat edifice which they named Queen's Chapel.[4] Its name was changed to St. John's Church at an early date (1732 or 4) and in 1736 the London Society sent out Mr Arthur Brown as their missionary to Portsmouth - doubtless as the result of a second petition from the parish; for some eight or ten towns in New England petitioned the S. P. G. for missionaries from 1702 on.[5] Brown had a peaceful ministry lasting 37 years, during all of which time his salary was supplied by the Society in London.

(c) In Brown's first letter to the Society, dated 1641, he says that about sixty of the six hundred families at Portsmouth were Episcopalian, and 'all the rest Independents' (i.e., Congregationalists), 'there being neither Quaker, Baptist, Papist, Heathen, nor infidel that he knows of among them'.[6] He reported

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1. Humphreys, An Historical Account . . . of the S. P. G., p. 74.
2. Kittery was just across the river in Maine. Stackpole, the historian, does not believe that this was a regularly constituted Episcopal Church, 'though Mr. Eveleth may have read the Episcopal Service'. (See Old Kittery and Her Families, p. 192-3.)
3. Humphreys, An Historical Account . . . of the S. P. G., p. 62. Humphreys also says that (in 1728-30) there were some 600 Church of England people "in Boston and Piscataway government" of whom about 120 were Communicants.
4. Queen Caroline sent the parish a silver communion service and a Bible - one of four copies known to collectors as "The Vinegar Bible" (Wallington, Historic Churches of America, p. 142).
5. Humphreys, op. cit., pp. 318-42.
6. (Stebbing) Sermon delivered before the S.P.G. (1742), p. 43 of the Appended Abstracts.

fifty-three communicants at that time. In addition to sixty pounds which the society paid him for his services at the Portsmouth church, he received fifteen pounds for ministering to the little church across the river at Kittery, Maine,[1] and the above salary of seventy-five pounds per annum was continued to him without a single shilling's raise until his death in 1773 ! However, the society granted him something better than a raise; i.e., they appointed his son Marmaduke to be his assistant and to itinerate the Province, in 1754. He had just graduated at Trinity College, Dublin, and returned at once to New Hampshire to assist in the arduous duties of the Pascataqua parish.[2] But as he was called away soon after (1761) to minister to the Newport (Rhode Island) church,[3] he did not leave much impress on the Pascataqua.

(d) That this left Father Brown* with his hands more than full, is evidenced by his letter to the society, in 1765, in which he complained that 'in the sixty-sixth year of his age . . . he is obliged - for want of another missionary in this province - to travel through the country at the solicitation of many people . . . and has, since his last account, baptized, as follows:

At Canterbury	19
At Boscawen	6
At Pemoroke	3
At Nottingham	6

besides 29 in his own (regular) parish'. These large demands upon Reverend Brown resulted in the appointment of Moses Badger as the itinerant missionary for New Hampshire in 1767-8.[4] He was a graduate of Harvard College and served a term of seven years in this wide field.[5] That it was indeed wide, is shown by the fact

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1. (Claggett, N.), Sermon delivered before the S. P. G. (1737), p. 56 of the appended Abstracts.
2. Sprague, Annals of the American Pulpit, V, 76.
3. (Newcome, R.) Sermon preached before the S. P. G. (1761), p. 42 of the appended Abstracts.
4. "Register of New Hampshire for 1768", in Collections of the New H. Hist. Soc., I, 281.
5. Pascoe, Two Hundred Years of the S. P. G., II, 882.

* Longfellow refers to him in his "Tales of a Wayside Inn", Perry, Hist. of the Amer. Colonial Church, I, 577.

that he extended his itineraries as far west as Claremont and other towns on the Connecticut River.[1] And, that the number of his parishioners and communicants increased rapidly, is shown in the annual report for 1769 which says that 'the number of souls under Reverend Badger's care amount to 1132, at present, which at his first going out did not exceed 740'.[2] But the fact that in eleven months he only baptized one adult (a female), one negro, and one hundred seven children, makes his success appear rather slight, after all. However, Reverend Brown reported to the Society that Moses Badger "gives universal satisfaction wherever he goes", and that "his mission keeps him continually on horseback".[3] This constant jogging to and fro finally wore the good man out, and in 1774 he wrote to the Society that he had quitted the itinerant mission of New Hampshire "through inability to perform so arduous a task", and had engaged himself as assistant to Reverend Caner of Boston.[4]

(e) After 37 years of faithful service - during which he had lived on good terms with the Congregational Clergy, and had dispensed hospitality to some of them journeying from inland towns[5] - Reverend Arthur Brown passed away in the Portsmouth home where he and his Irish wife had raised nine children on a meagre salary. In the New Hampshire Gazette of June, 1773, may be found the following notice regarding the death of the aged Portsmouth pastor Arthur Brown: "The death of so respectable a pastor must, to his parishioners, be a most afflicting stroke of Providence . . . His death is universally lamented by all who had the happiness of his acquaintance".[6] But Reverend Brown, himself, was quite fortunate in passing from the scene of his peaceful labors just prior to the outbreak of

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1. Granite Monthly, XXII, 144.
2. (John Green) Sermon before the S. P. G. (1769), p. 21 of the appended Abstracts.
3. Ibid., p. 20.
4. Barrington, Shute) Sermon before the S. P. G. (1775), p. 22 of the appended Abstracts.
5. "Diaries of Reverend Timothy Walker", Collections of the New H. Hist. Soc., IX, 172.
6. Sprague, Annals of the American Pulpit, V, 76.

troubles with England. We shall take up the story of the Portsmouth church again, in Chapter VI, and will merely remark, in passing, that 'for twenty-five years after his death the Portsmouth church was almost entirely neglected.'[1]

(2) The Claremont Church on the Connecticut.

(a) Captain Brooks and several of the first settlers of Claremont were "Churchmen", and in 1767 they took with them into the wilderness 'a certain Samuel Cole, as Lay Reader' and school-master.[2] But the parish was not organized until 1771, at which time Reverend Samuel Peters, an itinerant S. P. G. missionary from Hebron, Connecticut, visited the town officially.[3] This was the Reverend Peters who was the author of the famous spurious collection of "Blue Laws".[4] Samuel Cole conducted the services of this church until 1773, and also conducted a Grammar School under the auspices of the S. P. G., the story of which will be told in Chapter VI.

(b) One feature of the S. P. G. School which deserves mention here, however, is the way in which its presence in town brought into evidence the religious prejudices of the 'Dissenters' (Congregationalists). In a letter to the Society in London, Cole reports the attitude of the townspeople as follows:

> "Some of the dissenters challenge a right to the school without complying with the orders of it. In short, they seem desirous that their children should learn to read and write, and (yet) ever retain the same prejudice against the Church which they themselves have. I want particular directions in this affair, for my school would be crowded if I would teach the Westminster Catechism and comply with all their humors".[5]

But Cole was not the sole person to look after the interests of the S. P. G. at Claremont; for, as Tiffany says, "the Claremont church was first ministered

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1. Hurd, Hist. of Rock. and Strff. Counties, 76.
2. Tiffany, Hist. of the Prot. Episcopal Church in the U.S.A., 116.
3. Waite, Hist. of Claremont, N.H., p. 94.
4. Religious History of New England, p. 228. (These are to be found in Peters, General History of Connecticut, and consist of 45 Puritan regulations which posterity has dubbed "The Blue Laws".)
5. Granite Monthly, 54 (1922), 145.

to by itinerant missionaries of the "S. P. G.", and we know that the special itinerant for New Hampshire, Reverend Moses Badger, visited this town several times.

(c) In 1773, Reverend Ranna Cossit was 'duly collated into the parish' by Governor John Wentworth - an active member and benefactor of the S. P. G. - and the townspeople began the erection of a church in the same year. In this undertaking they were assisted by his Excellency, Governor John Wentworth, above mentioned.[1] In the S. P. G. Abstracts referred to above, Reverend Cossit is ~~mentioned~~ designated as 'the missionary at Haverhill'. This is because - before leaving England - he had been registered in the Bishop's records at Fulham Palace, London, as 'incumbent of the Haverhill parish'.[2] He seems, however, to have come almost directly to Claremont. The Society's report for 1775 shows how extensive his labors were:

> "The Reverend Ranna Cossit acquaints the Society that he hath preached in 13 different towns in the Province in each of which he found some members of the church who had formerly been under the care of the Connecticut clergy. He both baptized 44 children and 2 adults in his own mission".[3]

As time passed Reverend Cossit did not hesitate to extend his authority across the river into Vermont, as witness the letter, dated 1785, in which, "by virtue of the ecclesiastical office which I hold by lineal succession from our Lord Christ", Cossit appointed Alexander Parmalee to be Warden of the Church of England for the towns of Windsor and Reading, (Vermont).[4] In this same year Cossit left Claremont, having been appointed missionary at Sidney (Cape Breton Is.) where he died, 1815.[5]

(3) The Church of England Folk at Holderness.

There was another group of Church of England worshippers at Holderness on the Merrimack. The Town charter of 1761 provided for the support of an Epis-

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1. (Law, E.) Sermon before the S. P. G. (1774), p. 22 of the Abstracts.
2. Chase, Hist. of Haverhill, Mass., p. 609.
3. (Barrington) Sermon before the S. P. G., 1775, p. 23 of the Abstracts.
4. Windsor County, Vermont (Aldrich and Holmes, editors) p.324.
5. White, Hist. of the Town of Claremont, N. H., p. 99.

copal minister, and Fogg says that a church was established here in 1770.[1] But George Hodges - the illustrious town historian - says that the church here was not built until 1797, although Robert Foyle had been secured as rector eight years before that.[2] In the early years this church was ministered to by itinerant S. P. G. missionaries, Samuel Peters, Moses Badger, et. al. This town was situated far up on the very outposts of the northern frontier - a considerable distance away from both of the other Episcopalian groups - and doubtless had very little communication with them either before, or during the Revolutionary War.

(4) Factors which tended to advance the Church of England.

(a) At the time when "the Great Migration" set in up the valleys of the Connecticut and Merrimack - after 1760 - the Royal Governors (Benning Wentworth and his successor, John Wentworth) issued a great many town charters and grants of land, in all of which they included a share for the S. P. G. In the annual abstracts of the S. P. G. for the year 1763, we read:-

> "Mr Browne (of Portsmouth) informs the Society that the Governor has interested them in 108 towns, granting them three hundred acres in each, besides granting glebes in each town for the support of the ministry of the Church of England, and has also granted an equal portion or right to the first settled minister of the Church of England and his heirs, forever".[3]

In a later letter, 1762, Mr Brown acquaints the Board that 'his Excellency has interested the Society in twelve more towns, making a total of 120.'

(b) The status of Episcopacy, as the "official church" of New Hampshire, was also a circumstance which should have favored its growth. "Every official of the Government", says Hurd, "was expected to belong to the Episcopal Church, and the officers of the Army and Navy were really compelled to choose that faith".[4]

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1. Fogg, Statistics and Gazetteer of New H., p. 197.
2. Hodges, Holderness, p. 67.
3. ("Society for Prop. the Gospel among the Indians"). Sermon and Report, 1763, p. 49. Wrong Title: should be "Society for Prop. the Gospel in Foreign Parts". See also Belknap, Hist. of New H., I, 340.
4. Hurd, Hist. of Rock. and Straff. Counties, p. 76.

We take Hurd's statement with a liberal dash of salt, and yet there can be no doubt that the Church of England occupied a very privileged position, so much so as to arouse the jealousy of the Congregational denomination and to cause their Association of Ministers to complain to Governor Wentworth that "the members of the Episcopal communions . . . in the back settlements enjoy the benefits of an itinerant missionary, while a far greater number of his Majesty's good subjects of other denominations are destitute of gospel ministrations".[1] But in speaking of Episcopacy as the "official church" we wish to warn the reader against confusing it with the "established church",(Congregationalism) —though the latter was 'established' only in the sense that the law of 1714 permitted the people of any town to choose that form of church discipline (and doctrine) and to tax all the inhabitants in support of it. In a strict sense, no one church was either 'established' or 'official' in the Province of New Hampshire. But when we scan the King's Commission to "our trusty and well-beloved Benning Wentworth, Esquire" in 1761 and find that he instructed him, as well as his successor, to "take especial care that . . . the book of Common Prayer, as by law established, be read on each Sunday and Holiday, and the Blessed Sacrament administered according to the Church of England";[2] and then read in one of Badger's letters that "the Governor's (John Wentworth's) attention to the interests of Religion and the Good of the people is so strong and conspicuous that several small churches are about to be erected in different parts of the Province",[3] we cannot but admit that the S. P. G. basked in the sunshine of royal favor and of official patronage and privilege.

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1. "Minutes of the New H. Assoc. of Ministers" (See annual meeting in 1770) Collections of the New H. Hist. Soc., IX, 37.
2. New Hampshire Laws, III, 274.
3. (Keppel, Fred) Sermon before the S. P. G. (1770), p. 9 of the Abstracts.

(5) Factors which opposed and retarded it.

(a) There were, however, several factors which definitely tended to retard the spread of the Episcopal system in this province and which furnish, perhaps, an adequate explanation as to why it took root in only three or four towns (i.e., in only one per cent of the 300 towns in which the S. P. G. had received grants of land). First, and probably strongest, was the fact that 'anyone, or any organization, which stood for unification was suspect in America before 1774'. And, as Humphrey points out, "The Church of England was at a disadvantage in America just because it possessed a traditional centralized organization'.[1] It is an undisputed matter of history that the thirteen original colonies were more afraid of consolidation than the Mother Country was of having them consolidated, and were only driven to it by the sheer necessity of mutual defense! In the King's Chapel lectures, Hodges says that the benefactions of the S. P. G had been a great help, but also a serious hindrance to the Episcopal Churches of New England.

> "The Society was most generous, and by its assistance, buildings were erected and salaries were paid; but the effect was to provide parishes with ministers who had been born, brought up, and educated in England; . . . The result was that the American Revolution brought the Episcopal Church to the very verge of extinction".[2]

(b) Then the hatred of the Puritans for this church no doubt went far towards retarding it; we can best show their attitude by illustrations from immediately adjoining fields. Take, for instance, Reverend J. Beach's letter from Newton, Massachusetts, in 1733. He says,

> "When I first arrived I intended to visit the Indians . . . but many of the English here that are bitter enemies of the Church antidoted them against the Church by insinuating them with a jealousy that, if they received me as their minister I would, in time, get their land from them, and they must be obliged to pay me a salary. This put them into a great rage, for these Indians are a very jealous people".[3]

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1. Humphrey, Nationalism and Religion in America, p. 3.
2. Religious Hist. of New England, p. 227. (Italics are mine.)
3. Digest of the Records of the S. P. G., p. 46.

and the Reverend Usher, another S. P. G. missionary at Bristol, Maine, wrote home to the Society, in 1730, that 'sundris negroes had made application for baptism that were able to render a very good account of the hope that was in them', but that he had not been permitted to comply with their requests, "being forbid by their masters".[1] This in a colony - Maine- which was considered "distinctly Episcopalian and was intended as a rival to her Puritan neighbors".[2]

(c) And finally, we should not forget to note the part which Reverend Arthur Brown of Portsmouth took in the Mayhew Controversy regarding the proposed establishment of an Anglican Episcopate in America. In 1763, Reverend Brown wrote a reply to Mayhew which Cross has characterized as interesting on two grounds; first, as an illustration of the methods of argumentation employed by a class of men of that day, who mistook pugnacity for piety, and second, on account of the charming frankness of the author.[3] In Brown's "Incidental Reflections relative to the Church of England", he readily admitted the truth of the design charged to the S. P. G. (that it was seeking to settle bishops in North America) and justifies it on the ground that bishops are an indispensable limb of the Church of England system. Regarding Mayhew's apprehension that Episcopacy, once firmly established, would tend to drive out Presbyterianism, ~~Mayhew~~ Brown added, cheerfully:-

> "If presbyterianism, as he calls the prevailing religion of the country, be disposed to go off and make room for its betters, let it go. But nobody has any thoughts of driving it away by force. Moreover, supposing the Episcopalians come to a majority in America, what of it? In that case, if the colonists should be taxed for the support of bishops and for official tests, it would simply be by the wish of the majority".

Not only were such opinions as these hardly reassuring to a people jealous to the last degree of its liberties in Church and State, but, says Cross, "they were not even sanctioned - at least, not openly - by the majority of Brown's persuasion".

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1. Digest of the Records of the S. P. G., p. 67.
2. Tiffany, Hist. of the Prot. Episcopal Church in U. S. A., p. 90.
3. Cross, The Anglican Episcopate and the American Colonies, p. 151.

(6) The Organization of New Hampshire Episcopalians.

In one sense of the word, New Hampshire Episcopalians had a strongly centralized organization, for they were all under the fostering care of the S. P. G. But the Home Society in London exerted, in reality, but little unifying influence upon the New Hampshire congregations. The only two organized churches were separated by the entire width of the Province. In early days, some means of communication were furnished by Moses Badger and other itinerants of the S. P. G. But Badger's withdrawal, in 1774, and Arthur Brown's death (1773) left Ranna Cossit as the only clergyman of the Church of England who remained with his parish throughout the Revolution. The two other groups - at Portsmouth and Holderness - became completely isolated.

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CHAPTER THREE

CHURCHES PLANTED DURING THE MID-COLONIAL PERIOD

A. The Friends, or "Quakers"

(1) Their Organization in New Hampshire

(a) The problem of ascertaining the exact number of Quaker "meetings" in New Hampshire prior to, and during, the American Revolution, has presented almost insuperable difficulties. The only official records printed are those kept by the Dover Monthly Meeting[1] and these are merely vital statistics. Information in regard to the Dover Quakers is, however, fairly abundant: The "x" in our problem has been the various groups south of the Piscataqua. With but one exception, all of the New Hampshire town, county, & state, ~~and church~~ histories in the University of Chicago Libraries contain no references to the way in which this southern group was organized: our only definite clue was furnished by Little, who says that the Quakers at Weare belonged to the Seabrook Monthly Meeting; and that, "together with Hampton and Kensington, they were within the limits of the Salem Quarterly Meeting".[2]

(b) But Little's remark proved of value chiefly as a point of departure. One might infer from his statement that there were organized "meetings" of Quakers both at Hampton and Kensington - in addition to the Seabrook Monthly - and that these three meetings were under the supervision of a Quarterly Meeting at either Salem, New Hampshire, or Salem, Massachusetts. It was not until we had ferreted out one of the fine-print footnotes in Jones' History of the Quakers, that we had the right clue to an otherwise baffling situation. Jones says that the Salem

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1. Scales, Hist. of Straff. Co., p. 114. He says, "Their first monthly Meeting was established in 1702, and their records extend back to that time. They are the best kept of any ancient records in Dover and have been carefully preserved". They have been published by the New H. Genealogical Society of Dover; see Vols. 1, 2 and 3 of its Collections (The New H. Genealogical Record).*
2. Little, Hist. of Weare, New H., p. 205.

* Those printed are only a small part of the Records.

(Massachusetts) Quarterly Meeting was established in 1738, and "was originally composed of Salem, Hampton, and Dover Monthly Meetings".[1] And it required Hurd (at Newberry Library) to harmonize Little and Jones. He shows that Little's "Seabrook Monthly" was one and the same organization with Jones' "Hampton Monthly", as Seabrook was set off from Hampton (Falls) in 1766, but the name of the meeting was not changed until 1796.[2] This left few, if any, Quakers in Hampton, proper. Hurd also shows that Kensington - another town set off from Hampton - had no regularly organized "Meeting", but that the group at Rochester, north of Dover, held intermittent "Meetings" with the consent of the Dover Monthly.[3]

(c) We have, then, but two Monthly "Meetings" of Quakers in New Hampshire, prior to 1776 (Dover and Hampton); and two other semi-organized groups (Rochester and Weare). Our total estimate of four Quaker "Meetings" in New Hampshire, during the Revolutionary period, is roughly corroborated by Thayer's estimate of six Meetings there by the close of the century.[4]

(d) Besides these four leading groups, there were some four or five other sizeable groups in 1776, belonging to one or the other of the two Monthlies. So we have some eight or nine definite groups which we can account for in 1776; but we feel that the four other groups, to each of which we find several references prior to 1776, deserve some mention here. Then there are ten more small groups for which we find only single references, scattered here and there.

(e) In order to mobilize the Quaker forces in New Hampshire we will summarize the data given in the Appendix, as follows: (5)

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1. Jones, The Quakers in the American Colonies, p. 142, note 1 (in his Chapter on "A New Type of Social Religion".)
2. This same group is referred to in the "Register of New H. for 1768" as the Friends at Hampton Falls. Collections of the New H. Hist. Soc., I, 281.
3. Hurd, Hist. of Rock. and Strff. Counties, p. 223. He says of Kensington that there were quite a number of Quaker families there, "but we do not learn that they often held meetings in Kensington".
4. Thayer, Religious Conditions in New H. (1750-1800)," Granite Monthly, XLI (1909), 62.

(5) For a revision of this section — based on Miss Butler's thesis — see Supplementary Note, p. ~~[illegible]~~ 37(a)

SUMMARY OF THE QUAKERS IN NEW HAMPSHIRE (see note 5, p. 32)

I. Quaker "Meetings" in 1776.

(1) Dover: had both a Monthly and a Quarterly "Meeting".
(2) Hampton: had a Monthly Meeting.
(3) Rochester: had intermittent business " Meetings".
(4) Weare: set up a "preparative Meeting" - 1776.

II. Other Groups in 1776.

(1) Kensington (2) Barrington (3) Epping (4) Raske (Danville)

III. Groups referred to at earlier dates:

(1) Somersworth (2) Brentwood (3) Exeter (4) Durham - Lee.

IV. Scattered references to small groups:

(1) Hollis (2) Nottingham West (3) Pelham (4) Dow (5) Newton (6) Poplin
(7) Richmond

(2) The Story of Quakerism in New Hampshire

(a) In spite of the score of towns in which we find this sect, the story of Quakerism in New Hampshire begins, and practically ends, with the Dover Society. They gained a footing there in 1662; and, "being treated with severity, they rapidly increased until at one time they numbered a third of the inhabitants". They built two meeting-houses, and by 1708 had established not only a Monthly, but a Quarterly "Meeting".[1] These people were visited by the itinerant Quaker missionaries, John Burnyeat and William Edmunson, as early as 1666 and 1675,[2] and by Mary Thompkins and Alice Thurton (from Old England) in 1667.[3]

(b) There are some persecution meted out to the Quakers in New Hampshire, the outstanding example of which is the whipping of four women through the streets of Dover, Hampton and Salisbury.[4 & 5] But the treatment accorded this sect by the

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1. Lawrence, The New H. Churches, p. ~~xxx~~. 320.
2. Jones, The Quakers in the Amer. Colonies, p. 118.
3. Sanborn, The Hist. of New H., I, 68.
4. Stackpole in his Hist. of New H., (Vol. I, pp. 67-71) gives a detailed account of this episode for which he blames Massa.
5. Snow calls this the exception which proved the rule of toleration in New H. (Hist. Address, p. 21).

* "The New H. Register for 1768" gives only four groups of "Friends", viz.: (1) Hampton Falls (2) Dover (3) Somersworth (4) Newton. (See Collections of the New H. Hist. Soc., IX, 281.)

authorities was, in general, unusually mild for those days - especially as compared with the doleful history of their persecutions in Massachusetts." The volumes of the New Hampshire State Papers and the New Hampshire Laws reveal numerous instances of where Quaker groups, or individuals, were exempted from military service or from collecting church taxes, taking oaths of office, etc.[1] In fact, we have not come across a single instance where a petition presented by a Quaker individual, or group, was not granted by the Council and House. This - in spite of the fact that many Quakers would not join the other early settlers in defending their frontiers against the Indians. Belknap says of such that "they could not be persuaded to use any means for their defense, though equally exposed, with their neighbors, to an enemy who made no distinction between them".[2]

(c) We have the case of John Hanson as an example of the above class. He lived on the outskirts of Dover in a spot quite remote from town (and from any neighbors) and during the Indian troubles he could not be persuaded to remove to a garrison, though he had a large family. One Sunday morning, while he and his oldest daughter were attending meeting, a party of thirteen Indians entered his house, killed and scalped two small children, and took his wife, small babe, nurse, two daughters and a son, all captive. They sold them to the French in Canada. It is some relief to find that, after this disaster, Hanson moved the remainder (?) of his family to the house of his brother, who - though also a Quaker - kept his fire-arms in good order "for the purpose of shooting game"(!).[3] This discreet use of language illustrates one of the weaknesses of the Quakers; namely "quibbling", which is well illustrated in the history of the Quaker Colonies.[4]

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1. State Papers of New H., VIII, pp. 40 and 60 et al.
2. Belknap, Hist. of New H., I, 205.
3. Ibid., p. 205.
4. See Levin, "Religious Controversy as Affecting the American Revolution" in Americana (a periodical), VIII (1913); also Jones, The Quakers in the American Colonies, p. 557.

* That there was some justification for this persecution, is seen by the fact that Quaker women sometimes went stark naked into the churches, or thro' the streets, "as a sign". (Felt, II, 324)

(d) But we would not do the New Hampshire Quakers justice, did we not call to mind the goodly number of them who took part in the expedition against Louisberg (1745) and in the various other campaigns of the French War - especially that of 1761. And, in addition to those who actually served in the militia, there were almost an equal number who paid for substitutes to go in their stead. Thus, the rigors of frontier life practically forced the better part of the Quakers to join the community in defending their farms and towns from the terrible Indian raids of those early years.[1] But that they were sometimes a refractory and disturbing element in the community, is shown by the following instances:

> "During Mr Hull's ministry at Oyster River (or Durham) the Quaker women came over from Dover Neck and gave him considerable trouble in his Sunday meetings. They would stand up when he was delivering his sermon, and contradict what he said and persist in arguing the question. On one occasion, one was so discourteous, not to say abusive, that the deacons interfered and removed her from the meeting-house".[2]

And in a petition to the General Assembly, in 1770, the Congregationalists of Barrington asked for permission to conduct their church affairs independent of the town meeting; asserting that, whenever a meeting was held to settle a minister, certain Quakers, 'and other separators' caused great confusion.[3]

(e) The way in which Quakers helped to foment dissatisfaction against church taxation is ~~clearly~~ clearly shown by the following:

> "The Quakers (of Dover) invited their neighbors to come to their Meetings 'where they should hear excellent Preachers who should preach to them freely without any Cost or Charge, not like their hireling Minister, who put them to great cost to maintain him': Upon this publication many, or most of the parish deserted the minister and frequented the Quaker Meetings. But not long after the Contributions that the Quakers gathered in their Monthly and Quarterly Meetings for the Travelling Friends of the Ministry were so frequent and rose so high that they far exceeded what they were to pay their minister as the Law of the Country required; whereupon they generally concluded to desert the Quaker Meetings and return to their minister".[4]

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1. Town Papers of New H., contain various petitions, exemptions, etc., which reveal the part taken by the Quakers in the Indian Wars.
2. Scales, Hist. of Straff. Co., p. 287.
3. Ibid., p. 381.
4. "(A) Journal of the Travels of the Reverend George Keith", in Collections of the Prot. Epis. Hist. Soc., I, 13.

(f) One of the curious facts regarding Quakerism in New Hampshire is the great dearth of ministers among them. We do not find a single Quaker Preacher referred to during the Revolutionary period. The only traces of such are at an earlier period. In 1740, the Brentwood Quakers built a house of worship, and James Bean was their preacher.[1] In 1702, George Keith had discourse with several Quaker preachers at Hampton; one, 'a ship carpenter from Scituate, who spoke very ignorantly'; and one, 'a noted Quaker and Preacher of good repute belonging to their Meeting'. And of the Dover Meeting, he says: "We heard their Preacher who was a Taylor".[2] But in 1760, we read of a Quaker wedding in Dover at which the two contracting parties united themselves in marriage, without the assistance of any minister or official - even to the extent of drafting their own wedding certificate![3]

(g) In conclusion, we find that the Quakers of New Hampshire formed a submerged group - the real history of which it is exceedingly difficult to present accurately. But they were, in a sense, part and parcel of the larger bodies of Quakers to the South; for, as Jones has noted:-

> "Quaker missionaries visited every region, however remote, and they were thus the bearers of ideas and ideals which formed a common stock . . . so that the Quaker at Dover, and the Quaker at Sandwich were almost as much alike in inward tissue as they were outwardly in cut of coat (!)".[4]

(h) This community of ideas was not the only tie which bound New Hampshire Quakers to their brethren in other Colonies; for - as must have been noted - all the Quakers which belonged to the Hampton Monthly Meeting were, in turn, under the Salem (Massachusetts) Quarterly Meeting. So far as we can find any evidence, the two main groups of Quakers in New Hampshire (Hampton and Dover) were more closely connected with extra-provincial organizations than they were

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1. Hurd, Hist. of Rock. and Straff. Counties, p. 223.
2. "(A) Journal of the Travels of the Rev. Geo. Keith" in Collections of the Prot. Epis. Hist. Soc., I, 8-10.
3. Scales, Hist. of Straff. Co., p. 169.
4. Jones, The Quakers in the American Colonies, p. 140.

with each other. These were not all to the south; for several strong groups of Quakers had grown up in Maine - almost simultaneously with those in New Hampshire.

The Friends at Kittery - just across the Piscataqua from Portsmouth and Dover - "were, in the earliest days of their history, connected with the Society at Dover". Thus, in 1769, we find one of the Quaker Meeting-houses being removed from Dover Neck and being set up in Kittery.[1] Although all of the New Hampshire Quakers belonged - in a sense- to the New England Yearly Meeting,[2] there was, in reality very little of corporate unity among them. Thus they formed not only a submerged, but also an incoherent and largely inarticulate group within the Body Politic of New Hampshire - particularly during the Revolutionary Period.

* (Supplementary Note on the Quakers) - #1

In a letter of November 15, 1924 from Professor R. M. Kelsey of Haverford College, Pennsylvania (an institution founded and still conducted by the Friends of America) he says: "I feel almost sure that the matter of the Quakers in New Hampshire has never been worked out. Manuscript records concerning it would be in the fire-proof vault at Moses Brown School, Providence, Rhode, Island".

We infer that the total number of adult male Quakers in New Hampshire, in 1775, was only about 200 - from the following:

"More than one-eleventh of those to whom the Test was submitted failed to sign it. This fraction included about 200 Quakers of Brentwood, Gilmanton, Kensington, Richmond, Rochester, and other towns". (See Siebert, Loyalist Refugees of New Hampshire, p. 3).

In Felt (Vol. II, p. 252) we learn that Quakers ~~1st~~ first visited New Hampshire as early as 1659. "Capt. Thos. Bond brings 2 females, being Quakers, from Jamaica to Piscataqua. Being put on trial, he plead ignorance of the law". Two Quaker men from Massa. also came in 1659.

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1. Stackpole, Old Kittery and Her Families, p. 207.
2. Letter to H. E. J. from Professor Rufus M. Jones, Haverford College, Pennsylvania.

*In connection with the whipping of the 4 women, it's interesting to note that the Congregational minister was 'the nigger in the wood pile': "Priest Rayner called on Maj. Waldron to apply the Cart + Whip Act - to free him from further danger of dispute".
- Butler, The People of God called Quakers in N.H., p. 8.

Supplementary Note on the Quakers — # 2

In her thesis entitled, The People of God called Quakers in New Hampshire, Miss Vera M. Butler of Columbia University has made a special study of the Dover and Weare Groups down to 1861. We have also received a list of Quaker Meetings from Mr. Thos. J. Battey (of the Moses Brown School at Providence, R.I.) the custodian of the original manuscript records of the New England Yearly Meeting. On account of Miss Butler's having largely omitted the Hampton Group from her study, and on account of Mr. Battey's having included in his list a few meetings which were set up after 1776, it is impossible for us to check our list accurately by them. We make no attempt to reconcile the discrepancies between these lists, but have simply arranged them for the purpose of general comparison, as follows:-

(NOTE: Those towns are underscored which occur on any two of the three lists. A question mark follows those on only one list. Those in parentheses are outside of New Hampshire.)

*Our List	Miss Butler's List	Mr. Battey's List*
(1) Dover Monthly	(Under Dover Monthly)	(Under Dover Monthly)
(2) Hampton Monthly (including Seabrook)	1. Lover	1. Dover
	2. Cocheco (North Dover)	(2. Pine Grove, Mass.)?
	(3. Berwick, Me.)	3. Rochester
(3) Rochester	(4. Kittery, Me.)	(4). New Durham
(4) Weare	5. Rochester	(5). Gilmanton
(5) Kensington	6. Newtown	(6. Chestnut Hill, Mass.)?
(6) Barrington	7. Barrentown (?)	(7. Berwick, Me.)
(7) Epping	8. Lee	8. Oak Woods (?)
(8) Hawke (Danville)	9. Sandwich (1782) & Wolfsboro?	(9. Eliot, Me.
(9) Somersworth		10. Sandwich North
(10) Brentwood	(Under Hampton Monthly)	11. Sandwich South
(11) Exeter	10. Seabrook	12. Wolfboro
(12) Durham	(11) Epping	(Under Hampton Monthly)
(13) Sandwich	(12) Pittsfield	13. Epping
(14) Hollis	(13) Hampton	14. Pittsfield
(15) Nottingham West	(Refused Association Test)	15. South Weare
(16) Pelham	(14) Weare	16. North Weare
(17) Dow	(15) Unity	17. Unity
(18) Newtown	(16) Nottingham (?)	18. Henniker
(19) Poplin	(17) Kingston (?)	(19. West Newberry, Mass.) (or West Newbury ?
(20) Richmond ①	(18) Gilmanton	20. Seabrook
* (based on State Papers of New H. etc all App., pp. XIV-XVI)	(19) Kensington	* (Letter dated Feb. 26th, '25)
	(20) Richmond	
	(21) Danville (Hawke) also (Rochester & Hampton refused)	

HUMANITARIAN ATTITUDES OF NEW H. QUAKERS.

In the book of discipline adopted by the New England yearly meeting in 1785 one entire section is given to the question of slavery, beginning; "We fervently want all in profession with us that they be careful to avoid being in any way concerned in reaping the unrighteous profits of that iniquitous practice of dealing in negroes and other slaves." (See p. 101) But as early as 1731 the Dover Meeting had drawn up a resolution discountenancing slavery, and in 1777, the Dover Meeting appointed a committee to wait on those Quakers who held slaves and advise them to set them free. They succeeded in getting 7 Quakers to liberate 9 Negroes (Butler, pp. 75+76)

① Was under the Belton, (Mass) Monthly, - according to Miss Butler.

B. THE SCOTCH-IRISH PRESBYTERIANS

1. The First Church, of Londonderry (or the East Parish)

On April 12, 1719, under a large oak tree at the end of Beaver Pond, Reverend James MacGregore preached the first sermon ever heard in Londonderry (then called Nutfield). This marked the beginning of the first Presbyterian Church in New England.[1] After but fifteen years, this church had grown to include several hundred communicants. These were recruited from the companies of Scotch-Irish immigrants who began settling in southeastern New Hampshire in 1719. After MacGregore's death, in 1732, they sent one of their elders to Scotland to secure a new Pastor. Reverend Thomas Thompson was engaged; and on the eve of his departure he was ordained by the Presbytery of Tyrone as "Pastor of the Colonial Church in Londonderry". Throughout the early history of the colonial Presbyterian church, it is noticeable that they 'imported' the majority of their ministers from Scotland or Ireland; and that they were University men - almost without exception. John Alden says of these men: "The founders of the Presbyterian Church in New Hampshire came hither for exactly the same purpose as did the first Puritans".[2] This was the only New Hampshire church we know of which paid its minister a really handsome salary: In 1740, we find these people paying Reverend William Davidson 160 pounds per year (in addition to a 160 pound "settlement" during his first year) whereas the Governor of the Colony was receiving only 100 pounds per year.[3] Also this is one of the few Presbyterian Churches of New England which has had an unbroken history down to the present time.[4]

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1. Lawrence, The New H. Churches, p. 38.
2. Alden, "Ecclesiastical (Hist. of New H.)", in State Builders, p. 101.
3. Ibid., p. 40, footnote.
4. The present name of this church is "The First Church in Derry": Derry was set off from Londonderry in 1828.

2. The West Parish of Londonderry.

From an early date, this town was informally divided into the East and West parishes; but the people of both parishes sat under one and the same minister until the early part of Mr Davidson's pastorate. At that time divisions arose in both parishes which were reflected in the legislative Act by which they were incorporated as separate parishes: i.e., it contained the proviso that forty families of each parish might have permission to belong to the other parish than the one in which they resided. "This liberty was improved".[1] Shortly before this act was passed, Reverend David MacGregore - whose father was the founder of Londonderry - was called to the pastorate of the West parish. He was settled in 1735 and - during the most of his life - was the leading Presbyterian minister in New Hampshire.[2] The early religious divisions in Londonderry were reflected not only in the establishment of these two rival pastorates, but they were perpetuated in the Presbyterial affiliations of these ministers and in their attitude towards Whitefield's preaching and the Great Awakening. MacGregore sided with this "New Light" movement and his church shared in the revival blessings of that period.[3] He was in Boston during the revival there, and returned home 'with a full purpose' to bring these blessings to his own church. He preached a series of sermons on the text: "Awake, thou that sleepest": there was 'a remarkable awakening' there, as a result.[4] Davidson and MacGregore both continued as pastors of their respective churches at Londonderry until well into the Revolutionary period.

* (3) Rev. Eleazer Wheelock, + the Church at Dartmouth College. *

(3) When, in 1770, Eleazer Wheelock founded Dartmouth College at Hanover, on the Connecticut River, he at once proceeded to organize a Presbyterian Church of which he, himself, was Pastor. Not only was Wheelock President of the College

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1. Lawrence, The New H. Churches, p. 89.
2. He attained such distinction that he was invited to take charge of the only Presbyterian Church then in New York (City) New H. Repository, I, 186.
3. Op. Cit., p. 41.
4. Sprague, Annals of the American Pulpit, III, 28.

* Dolores Bacon says: "In no other instance do we find a simultaneous beginning of educational + ecclesiastical interests" Old New E. Churches p. 408.

and Pastor of the Church; but he also held the office of Chief Magistrate over the College Grant (a district three miles square).[1] Public worship at Hanover has always been held by citizens and students in common.* The original church comprised among its members the Presbyterians of three towns, namely, Hanover, Norwich, and Hartford. Services seem to have been held alternately between the College Chapel and the "Dothan Meeting-house" in Hartford. Wheelock's church was for a long time the leading organization in the Grafton Presbytery; and when it was being changed over from its Presbyterian form of disciple to the Congregational platform, there was a great deal of bitterness and dissatisfaction aroused - the results of which were seen in the great controversy of 1816-17, between the College and the State of New Hampshire. From the time that Wheelock first came to New Hampshire, he was, undoubtedly, the leading Presbyterian minister of that state - as MacGregore and Davidson were both well advanced in years by that time. We shall have considerably more to say of him in several of the following chapters.

(4) Presbyterial Affiliations of New Hampshire Presbyterians.

(a) A glance at our Map (see inside of back cover) will show that the Presbyterian Churches of New Hampshire fell into two groups - a western group around Hanover, on the Connecticut, and a central group around Londonderry, on the Merrimack. The question naturally arises: Were these two groups organized into two separate Presbyteries? In the case of the western churches we can say definitely that they formed a part of the Grafton Presbytery which, from about 1770 on, comprised a dozen or more churches in both New Hampshire and Vermont. But the early records of this Presbytery were destroyed in a fire; so there is little additional information that we can furnish here.[2]

(b) When, however, we turn to the ten churches in and around Londonderry, we are confronted by a real historical curiosity: for the original Presby-

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1. Belknap, Hist. of New H., I, 341.
2. Lawrence, The New H. Churches, p. 538.

* This group was called "The Church of Christ at Dartmouth College". It has sent forth "an amazing number of great men" (Bacon, p. 408)

tery of Londonderry was set up in Boston (about 1629);[1] whereas the Presbytery of Boston was organized at Londonderry (in 1645).[2] To add to the confusion, the Presbytery of Boston met alternately in both of these places;[3] and the historian Blaikie puts the finishing touch to the general mix-up by referring to these bodies as the Presbytery at Boston, etc. But thanks to Briggs, we are able to reconstruct the general situation, with tolerable accuracy, as follows:

(a) The original Londonderry Presbytery was composed of some three or more ministers: (1) Le Mercier - the Pastor of the French Huguenot Church in Boston; (2) Reverend Edward Fitzgerald, of Worcester, Massachusetts, and Reverend James MacGregore of Londonderry, New Hampshire.[4] This first organization later refused a seat to Reverend David McGregore of Londonderry,[5] so he and his group set up the Presbytery of Boston, in 1745.[6] These rival Presbyteries continued side by side until 1755, when the original Presbytery of Londonderry ceased to function[7 & 8] - leaving the Presbytery of Boston as sole arbiter for New England Presbyterians until 1771. In that year a small organization was set up, "The Presbytery to the Eastward", but none of the New Hampshire churches appear to have joined it; not even the two which had belonged to the (then defunct) Presbytery of Londonderry.[9] In 1775, the Presbytery of Boston met at Seabrook and constituted itself a Synod - dividing into three Presbyteries. Its name was "The Synod of New England".[10] As Blaikie, Briggs, and Lawrence all disagree from this point on,

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1. Briggs, American Presbyterianism, p. 228.
2. Ibid., p. 335.
3. Blaikie, Presbyterianism in New England, p. 109.
4. Briggs, pp. 228 and 163, (op. cit.)
5. Ibid., p. 229.
6. Ibid., p. 335.
7. Ibid., p. 337, and footnote.
8. Morrison, in his Hist. of Antrim, New H. (p. 125) says that it expired by depletion (1755), and that it was nicknamed "The Irish Presbytery".
9. Sprague, Annals of the American Pulpit, III, p. XVI.
10. Blaikie, Presby. in New England, p. 168.

we shall not concern ourselves with the Presbyterial affiliations of these churches subsequent to 1775. The situation, as it existed in the early part of that year, is shown, as follows:

(d) PRESBYTERIAL CONNECTIONS OF NEW HAMPSHIRE CHURCHES

I. Under the Boston Presbytery (until 1775)

1. Londonderry, 1st Ch. (D. McGregore) Briggs, pp. 282 and 337.
2. Seabrook -----(Rev. S. Parley) Lawrence, p. 133.
3. Windham-------(Rev. S. Williams) " p. 144.
4. Peterborough - (Rev. John Morrison) - Blaikie, p. 128.
5. Bedford - (J. Houston)-------Lawrence, pp. 156-7.
6. Francestown : - Cochrane, Hist. of Francestown, p. 227.
7. Hudson (or Nott. West) - Rev. J. Strickland - Blaikie, p. 168.
8. Pembroke (Rev. D. Mitchell) - Blaikie, p. 168.
9. Salem (Rev. Abner Bailey) Lawrence, p. 130 and Blaikie, pp. 163-4.

II. Under the Grafton Presbytery - (1770-)

1. Hanover (Rev. E. Theslock) Lawrence, p. 538.
2. Orford (Rev. Obadiah Noble) " pp. 565-6.
3. Hanover Centre (Eden Burroughs)" p. 539.
4. Boscawen (until 1774, at least)" p. 349. [1]

III. Under the original Presbytery of Londonderry (till 1765)

1. Londonderry, 2nd Ch. (Wm. Davidson) Blaikie, p. 131.
2. Chester (Rev. John Wilson) Briggs, p. 229.

IV. Presbyterial Connection unknown -

1. New Boston (Rev. Solomon Moore) formerly the "New Boston Addition" of Francestown and therefore probably under the Boston Presbytery.

(5) The fact that our Table is incomplete is largely due - no doubt - to the loss of the early records of the West Parish of Londonderry. [2] As this church (under Rev. McGregore) was the leading member of the Presbytery of Boston, there is small wonder that the status of one of the churches of the Londonderry group cannot be ascertained. We find, however, two brief references to church

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1. But after his dismissal, in 1774, Reverend Nathaniel Merrill joined the Synod of New England, 1775, thus changing his affiliations (Blaikie, 168).
2. (X) See Supplementary Note, p. 44, and Lawrence, p. 88.

affairs in the "Early (Town) Records of Londonderry", New Hampshire. The first, under date of October 24, 1730, says: 'Voted . . . that we will not send a Commissioner to the next Presbytery to be held at Boston'.[1] Nine years later we find : "The proprietors, freeholders and inhabitants of Londonderry voted 'that they will adhear and agree to the Rules of the Presbytr which is to be held at Londonderry . . . in the choise of a minister of the Gospel to labour amongst them".[2] Time was, however, when these sturdy Scotch-Irish immigrants had gotten along very well without any presbyterial oversight: for,

> "At the time Reverend James MacGregore was called to the church at Derry (1719) there was no Presbytery in all New England. As he couldn't be installed in true Presbyterian style, the people cheerfully conformed - for the time being - to the principle of Independency".[3]

(6) But even when Presbyteries were established, they scarcely exerted a unifying influence upon the churches of New Hampshire. Instead, they bound the New Hampshire Presbyterians to Vermont, on the one hand, and to Massachusetts and Maine on the other.[4] Thus, whatever attitude individual Presbyterian ministers may have had towards the Revolution, their influence cannot have had as far-reaching an effect as it could have had, were the churches united under one Synod.[5]

(7) When we call to mind the trait of obstinacy in the Scotch character, it seems strange that Presbyterians should not have held their own, in New Hampshire. Morrison characterizes one group of them as follows: "The Scotch settlers at Windham were of a stern and rugged type and clung to the tenets of the Presbyterian Church with an obstinacy and devotion but little short of bigotry".[6] We have already called attention to Miss Lemley's explanation as to why Presbyterians

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1. Manchester Historical Assoc. Collections, V., 118.
2. Ibid., p. 225.
3. Lawrence, The New H. Churches, p. 39.
4. See Freeman's "Sketch of Presbyterianism in Maine" in The New H. Repository, I, 253.
5. See Lawrence, p. 144 for an example of some slight connection between New Hampshire Presbyterians and the Synod of Philadelphia.
6. Morrison, Hist. of Windham, p. 122.

were so easily assimilated into the Congregational system. Although New Hampshire Presbyterians met with less opposition than those in Massachusetts, they still had the same stern church law to face; but that they held their ground better than the Presbyterians in either Maine or Massachusetts is evidenced by the fact that as late as 1810 — they still had a General Association in New Hampshire, and that a plan of union was drawn up between it and the General Assembly.[1]

(Supplementary note on the Presbyterians)

Although the original records of the session of the West parish of Londonderry have been lost, those of the East parish are still preserved. Parker - writing in 1851 - had access to these church records which he says date back to June, 1723. He gives a number of extracts from these showing how carefully the session disciplined various members. Among the offenses for which these Scotch-Irish pioneers were "churched", are included (1) 'giving the lie to one's father' (2) 'unjustifiable expressions of a profane character' (3) drunkenness. And one case of discipline concerned a man who left an axe lying in the road, instead of carrying it to the next tavern - as custom required. Of these early Presbyterians, Parker says: "no people were more distinguished for sound Christian doctrine and order" (Hist. of Londonderry, pp. 133-5).

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1. A Digest Compiled from the Records of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A. and from the Records of the Late Synod of New York and Philadelphia, pp. 303-4.

OUTLINE OF CHAPTER FOUR

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CHAPTER FOUR

THE REVOLT AGAINST THE STANDING ORDER AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF BAPTIST CHURCHES AND VARIOUS SECTS

A. THE REVOLT*

(1) General Religious Ferment which Preceded it.

"From 1750-1790", says Hurd, "there existed great uneasiness in the religious mind. Not a few were restive under what seemed staid orthodoxy. The people generally revelled in unrestrained liberty, and this passion for liberty ran into extravagance. There was a wild prejudice against whatever had the least claim to antiquity, whether in doctrines or in customs. Hence new lights sprang up, wild and fantastic notions were entertained, and customs, or modes of expression and worship came into vogue that contrasted strangely with what was reproachfully termed the 'Standing Order'." 1

(2) Specific Causes for the Revolt.

(a) A more specific cause for the revolt is to be found in the narrow interpretation put upon the Church Law of 1714. "Everybody", says Lauer, was taxed; whenever a Dissenter claimed exemption he was asked to prove that he was a Dissenter. At every point his evidence was contested by the State". 2 The reluctance towards paying Church taxes greatly increased in New Hampshire near the end of the eighteenth century: "The demand increased for 'poll parishes'", says Stackpole; i.e., a group of individuals pledged to the voluntary support of a minister chosen by themselves. 3 (4)

(b) The way in which the revolt against church taxation manifested itself, in various towns, can best be illustrated in the case of Gilmanton. Here the inhabitants were very harmonious, for several years, in regard to raising their minister's salary. But when other denominations gained a footing there, "a disposition was manifested to throw off the town's obligations to the Standing Order". First, a proposal was made to have assessors and a collector of the

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1. Hurd, Hist. of Rock. and Straff. Counties, p. 428.
2. Lauer, Church and State in New England, p. 89.
3. Stackpole, Hist. of New H., II, 309-10.

* The Revolt was in part a preliminary, and in part, a consequence of the introduction of the Baptist Church into New Hampshire.

(4) Humphrey says: The Americanizing of Christianity was largely a process by which the established churches were shorn of their vested privileges.

ministerial tax separate from the selectmen and constables, who made and collected the other taxes. Then, an effort was made to divide the avails of the ministerial lands among the different societies. Finally, during a period of five years, no ministerial tax was laid out.[1] Another instance of this state of ferment was at Barrington, where various sects 'caused great confusion whenever a town meeting was held to settle a minister according to the laws of the Province'.[2 & 3] And the Newton Baptists carried on a law-suit, for several years, to secure exemption from these taxes.*

(c) Another element that led to religious revolt was the cold, narrow type of "Arminian" theology which most of the churches had grown into (or adopted) and the contrasting type of emphasis on a vital, personal 'experience of religion', as preached by Edwards and Whitefield. Indeed, the Great Awakening, as well as the series of subsequent revivals, was one of the prime causes of the revolt against 'the established church' - in spite of the fact that Whitefield, himself, was a clergyman of the Church of England.[4] In 1745, Whitefield made his first visit to Portsmouth and says in his diary that 'he preached to a polite auditory but so unconcerned that he began to question whether he had been speaking to rational or brute creatures'.[5] He also visited Exeter where his preaching caused a split in the Congregational church, whose minister had "solemnly warned and charged Whitefield against preaching in his parish".[6] The great preacher penetrated the northern wilderness as far west as Londonderry, and brought revival blessings to the Presbyterian church under David McGregore.[7] Whitefield's last visit to New Hampshire

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1. Lawrence, The New H. Churches, p. 491.
2. Scales, Hist. of Straff. Co., p. 381.
3. The revolt against the Tax is also shown in Pembroke. In 1763, the Presbyterians of that town formally petitioned General Assembly (i.e., the Legislature) to exempt them from the Church tax (Laws of New H., III, p. 337)
4. Whitefield is hard to classify, as he said is said to be also the founder of the Calvinist Methodists (Americana, Vol. 22).
5. Stackpole, Hist. of New H., II, 313.
6. Lawrence, The New H. Churches, 50.
7. Op. Cit., p. 41.

* In Kingston, both Quakers and Baptists refused to pay church taxes in 1767. (See Hurd, Hist. of Rock. and Straff. Counties, p. 372.)

was in 1770, when (on the day before his death) he preached at Exeter 'to a vast assembly that no church could contain'. Stackpole says;

> "Many of the leading ministers of New Hampshire had no more sympathy with the preaching of Whitefield than equally good ministers have now with that of Billy Sunday. But sinners were soundly converted, in both cases, and nothing is so convincing as success". [1 & 2]

One of Whitefield's favorite themes was the unconverted ministry, and he did not hesitate to include some of the New Hampshire clergy in his broadsides of condemnation - thus hastening the break-down of the standing order.

(d) Another element which contributed to the revolt was racial and social divisions in certain of the towns. In Nutfield, "the English churchmen were in a minority and were greatly maligned by the Scotch who came to America as disaffected and aggrieved occupants of confiscated lands in the northern counties of Ireland, despising the Irish . . . and hating the English".[3] Willey says that, 'in 1720, a large proportion of the colonists of Nutfield were complaining about the character of the men that were being invited to settle upon the late divisions of land'. At one time 'the sentiment of the town ran so directly against the actions of the immigration committee (or Immigration Bureau) that a meeting was called to protest'; and they soon put a stop to any more promiscuous settling within their sacred precincts.[4] And in Derryfield, we find that '<u>a religious warfare</u>' - between the Congregationalists and Presbyterians - '<u>had begun as early as 1751</u> - to be transplanted to other scenes by this act of incorporation of the new town' (of Derryfield).[5]

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1. Stackpole, <u>Hist. of New Hp.</u>, II, 314.
2. Whitefield also preached in the Old South Church of Portsmouth in 1770, and brought about a revival there. Hurd, <u>Hist. of Rock. and Strff. Counties</u>, p.84.
3. <u>Manchester Historic Assoc. Collections</u>, VI, (Introduction, p. VI.)
4. <u>Willey's Book of Nutfield</u>, p. 9.
5. <u>Manchester Hist. Assoc. Collections</u>, VIII, p. 20 (note). Derryfield (now Manchester, comprised part of the N. .. portion of Londonderry - formerly called <u>Nutfield</u>. (see p. 1 of the Introduction to Vol. VIII).

(Prefatory Note on the Baptists)

Although the Bibliography on the Baptists seems to be more abundant than that for any other denomination, we were unable to fully reconcile the data given by various authorities on the New Hampshire Baptists. To be sure, there was one piece of source material to which we did not have access (I. M. Allen's Triennial Baptist Register, Vol. I, of which could not be found). Aside from this, we believe we have exhausted the Bibliography on the subject without arriving at very much agreement either as to the number of churches, in 1776, or the way in which they were organized.

Mr. Harlan C. Pearson, Editor of the Granite Monthly, recently said:

> "Any individual investigator - whatever the field of New Hampshire history he may choose for his work - will find much new ground to be traversed, as well as many old mistakes to be corrected." [1]

Instead of correcting old mistakes, we fear we may have made some new ones - especially so far as the Baptists and Quakers are concerned: Should this volume fall into the hands of someone able to discover any such, we would appreciate having our attention called to whatever deficiencies or errors may be noted in any part of this volume.

Cummings gives the following data, the accuracy of which we are unable to check:-

(1) Rev. Wm. Hooper was pastor at Madbury, 1768-98.

(2) The Hopkinton Church was--'gathered' by Rev. Joshua Smith.

(3) Rev. Ebenezer Mack moved to Marlow in 1768; in 1778, Rev. Caleb Blood was ordained their pastor.

(Baptist Churches in New H., pp. 8-9)

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1. Granite Monthly LII (1920), 452.

B. THE ESTABLISHMENT OF BAPTIST CHURCHES

(1) The strange way in which the Baptist church was introduced into New Hampshire lends a special interest to this denomination. Early Baptist influences at Dover and Kittery[1] had entirely disappeared when Rachel Thurber Scammon - a devout believer in Baptist doctrines - settled with her husband at Stratham, New Hampshire (1720). During the next fifty years she carried on a quiet work among her friends and neighbors, but obtained only one convert. But shortly after her death, a revival took place; and Dr. Samuel Shepard was converted by means of one of the books which she had distributed in Stratham and adjoining towns.

(2) The first organized church of New Hampshire Baptists was formed at Newton in 1750-55 - though some writers say that the Dover Church of 1641 (under Hanserd Knollys) was essentially Baptist in its creed. Cathcart says that "Knollys was recognized by the people of Dover as a decided exponent of Baptist principles"; the result was two religious communities. After Knollys' return to England, those of the Dover church who had espoused Baptist principles fled to Long Island, and thence to New Jersey.[2] Of the Newton Church, there are no records extant until 1767, when two of its members became involved in law-suits — "on account of rates imposed on them by the Standing Order".[3] This suit lasted for three years, but we have no record as to which side won. "The Newton Church was dissolved in 1765,[4] at the time that the Haverhill (Massachusetts) Baptist Church was organized", says Backus. We are unable to reconcile Armitage's

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1. The Kittery Baptists had organized a church in 1682, and held a quasi-'council' with the Boston Baptists. But being persecuted, the pastor and most of his church soon removed to South Carolina. Allison, Baptist Councils in America, p. 21, and Stackpole, Old Kittery and Her Families, p. 207.
2. "They called their new home in New Jersey 'Piscataway' - after the original name of Dover", Cathcart, The Baptist Encyclopedia, p. 835.
3. Armitage, Hist. of the Baptists — to 1789, p. 765.
4. Backus, Hist. of the Baptists, II, 635.

reference to the Newton Church Records of 1767 with this church dissolution, in 1765, except by assuming that during this period most of the Newton Baptists worshipped at Haverhill, but retained their group entity in civil affairs - especially in resistance to church taxes. Church quarrels - ending in the dismissal of their pastor, Reverend Peter Powers - hastened its disruption.

(3) But taxes and law-suits were not the only things that the Baptists had to contend with; they met with open persecution and abuse in some of the towns. When two evangelists were preaching at Peperell, New Hampshire, they met by the side of a river - for convenience in baptizing - and within an enclosed field. But "a large mob broke into the field and ~~interrupted~~ interrupted Mr Fletcher in his sermon, while a dog was carried and plunged into the river in evident contempt of their mode of baptism".[1] The chief officers of the town were leaders of the mob.

(4) About the time that Baptist churches began to multiply, they ceased to be objects of popular suspicion and ridicule. It is this earlier movement which the historian, Backus, refers to when he says;

> "The revival of 1764 (in Massachusetts) spread into several towns in New Hampshire - until Mr. Smith of Haverhill, Massachusetts, was sent for and he baptized 38 persons in one week, June, 1770. Fourteen of them were the Congregational minister and the majority of his church in Deerfield - who were settled as a Baptist Church the same month".[2]

(5) It was not until Dr. Shepard's conversion in 1770, that the Baptist movement began to gain real headway. While visiting in the home of one of his patients, Shepard picked up a copy of Morton's book on immersion, - one hundred copies of which Mrs. Seamon had distributed in and around Stratham. This book led to his conversion to Baptist doctrines (though he was already a Congregationalist).[3] In less than seven years after Dr. Shepard's ordination as a Baptist preacher, he had the largest church ever collected under one pastor in New England.[4]

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1. Backus, Hist. of the Baptists, II, 536.
2. Ibid., II, 535.
3. Armitage, Hist. of the Baptists, pp. 363-5.
4. Sprague, Annals of the Amer. Pulpit, VI, 136.

The church which he organized at Brentwood is said to have been the first permanent Baptist Church in New Hampshire.[1] Reverend Mr Shepard's plan of church extension was to furnish branch churches to the one of which he was the Pastor. These new churches were supplied with pastors - wherever such were available - but, says Sprague, "Brentwood was their Jerusalem to which they used frequently to repair. There Dr. Shepard resided like a bishop in the midst of his diocese". In his active years he frequently made a 200-mile circuit among the Baptist Constituency. "Through a wide-spread region of the country he was followed and admired by a multitude, and everywhere revivals and conversions attested the power of his preaching".[2] Cummings — in his Sermon-Address on New Hampshire Baptists — says;

> "The Brentwood Church increased with great rapidity, and had branches in Epping, Lee, Nottingham, Hawke, Hampstead, Northwood, Salisbury, Canterbury, London, Chichester, Meredith, and many other places, and included within its compass about one hundred members".[3]

This seems to have been the only denomination in New Hampshire whose growth was not checked by the Revolution.

(6) Ten years after the conversion of Dr. Shepard, the Baptist movement gained its greatest momentum in the Revival of 1781. Shepard describes this, himself, in a letter to Isaac Backus - the historian of New England Baptists, par excellence - as follows;

> "I baptized forty-three in Meredith in one day, and such a solemn weeping on the shore I never before saw. The ordinance of baptism seemed to carry universal conviction through them, even to a man. The wife, when she saw her husband going forward, began to weep to think she was not worthy to go with him; in like manner the husband, the wife; the parent, the child - so that that lamentation and weeping, methinks, may be compared to the inhabitants of Hadadrimmon in the valley of Mahgiddon".[4]

(7) Burrage says that only nine Baptist churches had been organized in 1770-79; and that as many more were organized in 1780 as in all the previous decade. This ingathering was due partly to the efforts of two missionaries which the Warren

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1. Vedder, A Short Hist. of the Baptists, p. 313.
2. Sprague, Annals of the Amer. Pulpit, VI, 136-7.
3. Cummings, The Baptist Churches in New H., p. 7.
4. Sprague, Annals of the Amer. Pulpit, VI, 136.

association of Rhode Island sent up the valley of that river. These men preached on both sides of the river as far up as Woodstock, Vermont, winning many converts.[1] That this rapid growth was not confined to New Hampshire is shown by George E. Horr. He says that in 1760 there were only sixty-nine Baptist churches in all New England, as against two hundred eighty-six in 1790 - more than a four hundred per cent increase in less than one generation! "There is no such record of rapid growth on the part of any other denomination in the entire history of New England".[2]

(8) This great revival movement of 1780-1 was not confined to the Baptist, however. The Presbyterians at the Dartmouth College Church experienced a revival of extraordinary power under Professor Ripley. "Week-days were like Sabbaths and audiences were as solemn as the grave".[3] And in the Congregational Church at Cornish, the people experienced a thorough revival under the preaching of Reverend Mr. Powers (1780).[4] But it was the Baptists who profited most by this great revival; in fact, they increased so much during the year 1780, that a letter was printed in a Boston paper in which a New Hampshire minister of the Standing Order gave vent to his feelings thusly:

> "Alas, the consequence of the prevalence of this sect! They cause divisions everywhere. In the State of New Hampshire, where there are many new towns, if this sect gets footing among them, they hinder their settling learned, pious and orthodox Ministers"![5]

(9) In addition to the powerful stimulus of the Revival, there was a more material reason for their rapid increase - in certain of the towns; namely, that towards the close of the century, Baptists began to secure exemptions from church taxation (thus following up the opening made by the Quakers).[6] Hence, says

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1. Burrage, The Baptists in New England, p. 89.
2. Religious History of New England, p. 158. (Edited by Plattner and Fenn) Horr also says that the most important single factor in promoting Baptist growth was the Great Awakening (Ibid., p. 9).
3. Lawrence, The New H. Churches, p. 535.
4. Ibid., p. 437.
5. Backus, Hist. of the Baptists, II, 533-4.
6. Although the Quakers were the first to secure exemptions, in New H., the Baptists of New England were the leaders of this fight to secure exemption from church taxation. When the tax on tea was opposed, the Baptists insisted that church taxation, without representation, was equally unjust.

Stackpole, "some became Baptists in name, and for a season".[1] Also, in some cases, the "New Light" members of Congregational churches, went over to the Baptists.[2] And as a more general reason for increase of this sect in New Hampshire, especially, we should note that, since the Governors and Counsellors of this Province were appointed by the Crown, the Congregationalists did not occupy the exalted and domineering position in New Hampshire that they did in Massachusetts and Connecticut;

> "Since the Revolution", says Stackpole, "if the majority of any town elect a Baptist teacher - he may have the lands therein which were granted for the ministry and also be supported by the tax if he will". [3&4]

(10) We do not wish to leave the impression, however, that it was all smooth sailing for the Baptists from now on. For;-

> "In spite of the above favorable conditions in certain of the towns" says Lauer, "the main body of Baptists were still kept under the old law of 1714. That meant that it was assumed that all were to be taxed - thus making it necessary for each individual to fight for his exemption. Even after the adoption of the Bill of Rights (1784) this early law was allowed to prevail in most of the towns; it was not, in fact, until the 19th century that the Baptists were recognized as a distinct religious sect, and that they actually secured full religious liberty".[5]

(11) As to the organization of New Hampshire Baptists, there is little information obtainable. The Warren Association of Rhode Island was organized in 1767,[6] and its minutes show no record of any New Hampshire churches having joined it during the revolutionary period.[7] But Backus says that the Baptist church at Weare joined the Association as early as 1768 - sending Mr. Tingley as their messenger.[8] He also says that the first Baptist Church of Richmond joined the Warren Association in 1771.[9] There is evidence that the Baptists at Salem joined the

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1. Stackpole, Hist. of New H., II, 509-10, (see also p. 72, note 2).
2. Relig. Hist. of New England, p. 155.
3. Backus, Hist. of the Baptists, II, 533.
4. See Hazlett and Lawrence for two towns (Kingston and Raymond) where exemption was secured even before the Revolution. Hazlett, Hist. of Rock. Co., p. 498. Lawrence, The New H. Churches, p. 126.
5. Lauer, Church and State in New England, p. 89
6. Backus, Hist. of the Baptists, II, 154.
7. Compendium of the Minutes of the Warren Association (1767-1825).
8. Backus, Hist. of the Baptists, II, 537.
9. Ibid., II, 539.

Warren Association about 1780.[1] We would infer, from Backus' reference to the New Hampshire Association, that the Brentwood and Gilmanton Churches were among its Charter members. But in a letter from Honorable Otis G. Hammond, Superintendent of the New Hampshire Historical Society, we learn that "the Brentwood Conference was formed in 1776, consisting of Brentwood, New Hampshire (and) Berwick and Sanford, Maine. This conference became the New Hampshire Association in 1785".[2] Hammond also says that "prior to the Revolutionary War the Baptist Churches in New Hampshire affiliated with the Warren, Boston and Woodstock Associations", whereas Backus says that the Woodstock Association was not formed until 1783,[3] and comprised churches in both Vermont and New Hampshire. We shall not attempt to reconcile the statements of Backus and Hammond in regard to the Woodstock Association. Indeed, it is not necessary that we should do so, in order to bear out the point that we wish to emphasize; namely, that the Baptists of New Hampshire were more closely associated with extra-provincial organizations than they were with each other - when the Brentwood group, is excepted. But we should not overlook the local 'councils' which met from time to time. One such met at Newton in 1761, presided over by Reverend Isaac Backus of Middleborough, Massachusetts,[4] and another met at Gilmanton, in 1780.[5] But this council concerned itself entirely with church doctrine and discipline.[6]

(12) In conclusion, it seems to us that the position of Dr. Shepard, as virtual bishop of the large group of churches centering around Brentwood, is the most significant feature of Baptist church Life during the early Revolutionary period. That our conclusion is amply born out by the returns from the Association Test of 1776, will soon become evident.

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1. Minutes of the Warren Association, 1793, p. 4.
2. Otis G. Hammond: letter dated Concord, November 14, 1924.
3. Backus, Hist. of the Baptists, II, 411.
4. Ibid., II, 334.
5. Allison, Baptist Councils in America, p. 113.
6. Lancaster, Hist. of Gilmanton, New H., p. 200.

C. THE LESSER SECTS

(1) The Sandemanians.

In 1768, Reverend Arthur Brown of Portsmouth wrote to the S. P. G. in regard to the strange sect which had just gained a footing in that staid old seaport. "The Quiet of the Town", says he, "is greatly interrupted by one Sandeman, whose scheme is to explode the Usefulness of Prayer and Preaching, and to damn all Opposers".[1]

'Exploding prayer and preaching' seems to us an outlandish platform on which to erect a new religious sect; but, "a break in the orthodox ranks awaited every innovator", in those days.[2] The church folk of Portsmouth had the good sense to "let them very much alone". Having no persecution on which to thrive, the new sect died down within about a decade.

(2) The Free-Will Baptists.

The classic example of the religious ferment of those early revolutionary days is furnished by Benjamin Randall, of Newcastle, - the founder of the Free-Will Baptists. He was converted under Whitefield's preaching in 1770, and after some deliberation, joined the Congregational Church. But further study convinced him that immersion was the only biblical form of baptism; so he got himself immersed and began to preach in the Baptist Church. Soon, however, he found that he could not conscientiously declare the (Calvinistic) doctrine of Election, as taught by the regular Baptists. So he organized a "Free-Will" Baptist Church in Durham (1780); and from here, as his home base, he traveled as an evangelist through New Hampshire and Maine - organizing churches in many remote and neglected places. At the end of ten years the new denomination had 28 churches and eight ministers.[3 & 4]

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1. (John Ewer) Sermon before the S. P. G., (1768), p. 49 of the appended Abstracts.
2. Stackpole, Hist. of New H., II, 304-5.
3. Ibid., II, 321.
4. Relig. Hist. of New England, pp. 77-9.

(3) The Shakers, et al.

The two fundamental doctrines of the Shakers are Communism and Celibacy; so it is in the nature of things that this sect, which branched off from the Freewillers, has not propagate itself to any extent. Two of its communities appear to have lasted till the present day, however.[1] Then we read of a group of Anabaptists which - at an earlier date - had sprung up on the outskirts of Salem (1760).* They were an unorganized group, but succeeded in making themselves very obnoxious to the staid Congregationalists, who seriously considered taking legal action against them.[2] Aside from the mere mention of a Universalist Church in Portsmouth (1780-1), there were no other sects established in New Hampshire during the Revolutionary Period.

In this almost 'non-visibility' of the lesser sects, New Hampshire contrasts strongly with Massachusetts and other parts of New England which was - at the beginning - "harassed with various sectaries". Sir David Humphreys - President of the S. P. G. - mentions eight sects "with which New England swarmed", previous to 1730; - (1) The Antinomians (2) Familists (3) Formalists (4) Seekers (5) Arrians (6) Arminians (7) Quakers and (8) Gortonists. Of these he says "their own best writers give us a very melancholy account of their enthusiastic behavior."[3] But - as we have seen - New Hampshire was 'harassed' by only one of the eight, the Quakers; though Lawrence makes occasional references to Arminian influences in various Congregational Churches, but mostly at a later period than 1763-83, (see New Hampshire Churches, pp. 309, 237, 363, and 376).

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1. Stackpole, Hist of New H., II, 323.
2. Gilbert, E., Hist. of Salem, N. H., p. 147.
3. Humphreys, An Historical Account of the S. P. G., p. 37.
* Felt mentions this sect as appearing at Dover as early as 1648. (See Eccles. Hist. of New England, II, 28.)

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CHAPTER FIVE

THE INTER-RELATIONS OF THE CHURCH AND THE COMMUNITY

A. The Church and Education in General.

(1) The general backwardness of education in colonial New Hampshire was strikingly brought into view by Governor Wentworth in his address before the Provincial Legislature, in 1771. He told these law-makers that nine-tenths of the towns of New Hampshire had no town schools whatever![1] Though there is reason to believe that many of these communities had small private schools and "dames' schools", to which groups of neighbors sent their children, it is evident that New Hampshire was a regular backwoods state as regards general education (until after the Revolutionary Period). For, during the war, many large and opulent towns - far removed from the scenes of danger - were mostly destitute of any public schools. To be sure, many laws had been enacted, but there had been "a general and criminal neglect of them on the part of the people".[2]

(2) Into this general obscurity the Church cast some helpful beams of learning. We find several specific cases where the minister of a town was also its educational mentor.[3] There was Simeon Williams, pastor of the Presbyterian Church in Windham — a fine classical scholar and teacher. He opened a private academy soon after his ordination, in 1766. Under him, many young men were fitted for college; and although his academy antedated Dartmouth, Phillips, Exeter, Ipswich, etc., yet it was an important tributary to Dartmouth.[4] Then

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1. Stackpole, Hist. of New H., II, 333.
2. Granite Monthly, Vol. 41 (1909), 65.
3. Of Rev. Timothy Walker of Concord it is said "he kept up his knowledge of the Classics, and was accustomed, occasionally, to fit boys for college". Collections of the New H. Hist. Soc., IX, 143, Note 1.
4. Lawrence, The New H. Churches, pp. 144 and 492.

there was Reverend William Parsons of Gilmanton, who (in 1765) was both minister and schoolmaster for the townspeople. In 1774, Reverend Isaac Smith was settled in the parish and took up his work of both teacher and preacher. Thayer says that at least seven New Hampshire ministers and divinity students under their instruction during the period 1750-1800.[1 & 2]

(3) But the most outstanding contribution towards education made by any of the churches, during the early colonial period, was that of the S. P. G. School of Claremont. This was the only school in New Hampshire supported by funds from England.[3] Samuel Cole, the schoolmaster, came to Claremont with the first settlers, and performed the duties of Lay Reader at the Episcopal services there until the arrival of Reverend Cossit. He wrote regularly to the London Society, to report the progress of his school, and in 1772 the Society's Abstracts say: "Mr. Cole's school, lately established by the Society at Claremont, answers their expectations. He has near thirty constant pupils in attendance, besides some children of Dissenters".[4]

(4) Upham indicates that the foundation ~~corner-stone~~ of this frontier temple of learning was the Shorter Catechism and its corner-stone, the New England Primer.[5] In his first letter to London (after opening the school) Mr. Cole says:

> "I would humbly beg of the venerable Board some Bibles, Common Prayer books, Catechisms, etc., to be distributed among my pupils <u>which, being properly distributed might greatly excite them to learn</u>".

Of the frontier community in which this school was located, Reverend Peters had written: "The inhabitants are living without means of grace, are destitute of

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1. Thayer, "Religious Conditions in New H. (1750-1800)" <u>Granite Monthly</u>, XLI (1909), 57.
2. Lawrence, <u>The New H. Churches</u>, p. 349
3. Upham, "Pre-Revolutionary Life and Thought in a Western New H. Town", <u>Granite Monthly</u>, 54 (1922), 109, 143, 199.
4. (Moss, Chas.), <u>Sermon before the S. P. G. -- 1772</u>, p. 18 of the appended Abstracts.
5. Upham, <u>op. cit.</u>, p. 148.
6. <u>Ibid.</u>, p. 145

knowledge, laden down with ignorance, and covered with poverty".[1] So we can see that it was all up-hill work for this 'good old gentleman'. After his death, in 1776, Reverend Ranna Cossitt took charge of the school.[2]

3. Church Influence on the Education of the Indian.

(1) Reverend Eleazer Wheelock had, before moving to New Hampshire, been conducting a mission school for Indians at Lebanon, Connecticut. He began his great work in a very humble way -- by taking a few scholars into his own home.[3] Having received some aid from a Mr. Moor of Lebanon, it became known as "Moor's Charity School". Hodge says that, although Wheelock received some donations for the school from colonial settlers, the bulk of his support came from Great Britain.[4] The explanation of this lies in the fact that Wheelock had sent one of his earliest pupils to England with Reverend Nathaniel Whitaker. This lad - "Occum" - was, of course, the first Indian minister who had ever visited that country. He preached to large crowds in all the principal cities, and collected ten thousand pounds for the school. This fund was place in the hands of a Board of Trustees, of which the Earl of Dartmouth was President.[5]

(2) This movement for the education of the Indian was accelerated by the action of Governor Wentworth, shortly afterwards. He offered Wheelock an extensive tract of land if he would move his school to New Hampshire. He readily accepted this offer, and the school was moved to Hanover, on the Connecticut River, in 1770-1. Reverend Wheelock, himself, was the first to arrive at the new site. Without

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1. "Pre-Revolutionary Life and Thought in a Western New Hampshire Town", Granite Monthly, 54 (1922), 146.
2. Sermon before the S. P. G., 1779, p. 46 of the Abstracts.
3. Sprague, Annals of the American Pulpit, I, 339.
4. Hodge, The Frontier Spirit in American Christianity, p. 21.
5. Charlton, New H, as It Is, p. 484.

nails or glass, he built himself a log cabin and directed the operations of forty laborers who cleared the forest, dug a well, ~~and~~ built a one-story house for his family, and a two-story frame for his scholars. When his wife and daughters arrived, they lived for a month in this hut; while his sons and students made themselves booths and beds of hemlock boughs. Such were the humble beginnings of New Hampshire's foremost educational institution. And though it bore the name of the Earl of Dartmouth, this nobleman was not a benefactor of the College itself - to the establishement of which he was opposed, as being a departure from the original plan - but only of Moor's Charity School.[1 & 2]

(3) By the founding of Dartmouth, Dr. Wheelock did not abandon "Moor's Charity School for Indians" - the name of his original home school for Indian lads. Instead, he moved it with him to Hanover and it continued its existence as "a fitting school for the College".[3] Here Indian youths were found - from time to time - until well into the nineteenth century. The following extract from a letter written from Canada, in 1800, shows how far ~~Wheelock's~~ Dartmouth's reputation had spread within a quarter-century.

(From Grand River, U. C.)

> "Two young chiefs were delivered to my care, when I left the province, and according to my orders I have left them in charge of the President of Dartmouth College, who received them with strong professions of friendship - being the sons of that chief who in his youthful days received his education of letters, piety, and virtue under the tuition of the late Reverend Doctor Wheelock".[4]

The proportion of Indians to white students under Dr. Wheelock's tuition, in 1772, was eighteen Indians to fifty-two whites - or over one-third. And in 1774, he had one hundred whites to only twenty-one Indians.[5]

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1. For an excellent and much more detailed account of this Charity School see the following thesis: Flitch, Relig. Influences in Conn., 1763-83, pp.41-44.
2. Sprague, Annals of the Amer. Pulpit, I, 400.
3. Stackpole, Hist. of New H., II, 341.
4. Town Papers of New H., XI, 735.
5. Stackpole, Hist. of New H., II, 338.

(4) Wheelock had considerable difficulty in curbing the Indian youths' propensities for rambling in the woods and hunting.[1] Another difficulty was to provide proper tuition for the French-speaking Indians;[2] and another the securing of a proper lady for matron.[3] The foregoing were as nothing, however, compared with the critical situation he found himself in at the outbreak of the Revolution. He writes to a friend (in 1775):

> "Stoves for my school I cannot have, without money, and this Dilemma - in addition to a flood of other cares - has almost sunk me into the Earth . . . The Convulsions of public affairs have thrown me into the greatest distress on account of the Debts which I owe . . . I made 4 application to the Continental Congress last spring for assistance".

(5) Some reasons for Wheelock's final success were that Dartmouth was - for many years - the only institution of college rank in New Hampshire and the Northwest; so it drew its students from a wide area. Then we must not overlook the fact that a large number of white people who had been carried off captives to Canada during the Indian War, and who had intermarried with the Indians there, wished their children to have a better education than the ordinary Red-skin. This explains Wheelock's remark (under date of 1772): "I expect an increase of my number of Indian children from the Province of Quebec <u>and particularly of descendants of captives among the tribes there</u>".[5] This patronage from the half-breeds of Canada may have been a larger factor in the success of the College than we realize.

(6) What with the preaching, chapel services, and religious instruction (in Bible classes) received by the Dartmouth students, we would expect to find them a great force for good in the community. But that they were far from such, during certain periods of the College's history, is shown by the observations of a con-

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1. Wheelock, "A Continuation of the Narrative of the Indian Charity School", in the <u>Rochester Reprints</u>, No. VIII, pp. 7-8.
2. <u>Ibid.</u>, p. 4.
3. <u>Ibid.</u>, Reprint No. IX, p. 12.
4. "Correspondence between Reverend Eleazer Wheelock", etc., <u>Collections of the N.H. Hist. Soc.</u>, IX, pp. 98-99. (Italics are mine).
5. Wheelock, <u>op. cit.</u>, Reprint IX, p. 28.

temporary who visited the College in 1774. He described the students as "unruly, lawless, and without the fear of God". One night they burned the Commons Hall. They acted plays upon the stage that offended piety and decency.[1] However, a number of revivals at Hanover helped to improve the moral tone of the College, in later years. In 1775, 'a refreshing was experienced' which resulted in the conversion of some, and in a general reformation of morals and manners.[2] And in 1781, Dartmouth shared in the general revival which prevailed in New Hampshire. It occurred under the ministry of Professor Ripley (as described in the preceding chapter.)

C. Attitude of the Church toward the Negro.

(1) One of the interesting customs of early New Hampshire churches was that they permitted the negroes to come into their meeting-houses and join in divine worship with them. Usually one or two pews were elevated above the stairs in one corner, near the ceiling, and these were devoted exclusively to the use of the blacks.[3]

(2) Since the churches showed such a kindly regard for the spiritual needs of the negro, it is quite reasonable to suppose that they were instrumental in the early abolition of slavery in that state. This inference is strengthened by the biblical phraseology of a petition which was presented to the Council and House, in 1779. It was signed by twenty male slaves who state that they have "no complaint against their masters, but that they desire that the name of slave may not more be heard in a land gloriously contending for the sweets of freedom".[4] The answer of the Legislature was to vote to hear the petitioners during their next session, and meantime the petition was to be published for three weeks successively in the New Hampshire Gazette - "that any persons may then appear and show cause why it may not be granted".

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1. Stackpole, Hist. of New H., II, 639.
2. Lawrence, The New H. Churches, p. 535.
3. Granite Monthly, XII, (1889), 295.
4. State papers of New H., XVIII, 705.

(3) It is uncertain just what did happen at the next session, but one thing is sure; that slavery was as good as abolished in New Hampshire by the adoption of the State Constitution in 1784.* Various writers have debated the question of when it actually went out of existence there;[1] but we are not concerned with the controversies.

(4) We have little direct evidence that the churches were influential in bringing about this change. Practically all that we do have is contained in Jeremy's Belknap's sermon of July, 1774. He says:-

> "Would it not be astonishing to hear that a people who are contending so earnestly for liberty are not willing to allow liberty to others? Is it not astonishing to think that, at this day, there are in the several colonies upon this continent some thousands of men, women and children in bondage and slavery for no other reason than that their skin if of a darker color than our own? Such is the inconsistency of our conduct"![2]

There is also the case of the Quakeress, at Hampton Falls, who liberated her slave Cesar, in 1751 - surely one of the earliest emancipators in our history! Cesar's name later appears on both the Province and School Tax lists.[3] Over against this we must set the fact that some New Hampshire people - even among the clergy - were slave-holders. In 1746, Reverend Timothy Walker jots down at the close of a busy day: "Bought a negro wench of Captain Clough - I am to give him £140".[4] And in 1751, Mr. Walker bought a negro male - Prince - to assist him in the arduous labors on his farm. But Prince was subsequently given his freedom.[5]

D. The Moral Tone of the Community-at-Large.

(1) If the pre-revolutionary publications of New Hampshire are an accurate index, the moral tone of early New Hampshire was on a high plane.

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1. See Articles in Vols. 4 and 5 of the Granite Monthly.
2. Belles, Hist. of Straff. Co., p. 184.
3. Ford, Hist. of Rock. and Straff. Counties, p. 298.
4. "Diary of Rev. Timothy Walker," in Collec's of the New H. Hist. Soc., IX., 141.
5. Ibid., p. 145, note 1.

* Provincial & State Papers of New H., X., 637.

Out of a list of 54 books which were published there, we find that 29 were sermons, and of the remainder some 9 or 10 were on distinctly religious subjects.[1] Also the fact that 256 ministers and missionaries were born in New Hampshire, prior to the Revolution, would indicate that the people of those days were, in general, bringing up their children with serious ends in view,[2] and that the churches were wielding a large influence.

(2) Then, the attitude of early New Hampshirites towards the theatre was, in general, quite hostile - on account of the effect which they feared it would have on the younger generation. In 1762, a petition was presented to the House of Representatives, asking that the Governor would deny all proposals for a 'Play-House' in Portsmouth.[3] But that the young folks of those days had their gay times, whether or no, is shown in the words of exhortation addressed by Reverend Isaiah Potter to the younger members of his flock, at the close of his ordination sermon (1772). He exhorted them "to refrain from vain amusements - dancing and the like - which were altogether unsuitable for the occasion', though customary'."[4]

(3) The practise of laying in a generous supply of rum for these ordinations and other church festivals forms the most striking contrast between those 'good old days' and ours. At the time that the erection of the church at London was begun, 'a barrel of rum was purchased for the raising and a great supper provided for the mass'.[5] As Thayer has said:

> "The huckster's stand, and the portable bar - emitting its alcoholic fumes - formerly collected a motley throng at the church door, on ordination days, blending - as it were - pandemonium with paradise".[6]

But that some attempt was made at a very early date to curb the liquor evil, is shown at Dover. In the Court Records of that ancient town we find the

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1. Granite Monthly, V (1881), 390.
2. Carter, The Native Ministry of New H., pp. 845-96. (estimated from Index 1.)
3. Provincial Papers of New H., VI, 831.
4. Lawrence, The New H. Churches, p. 549.
5. Ibid., p. 394.
6. Granite Monthly, XLI (1909), 300.

following entry - under date of August 30, 1653: "This Court doth order that henceforth only one wine tavern shall be licensed at Dover," etc.[1]

(4) Other evidence that the moral tone of some of the frontier towns was, after all, on a low plane is found at Kingston: In a letter from Jacob Bailey - schoolmaster at Kingston in 1755, we find:

> "Though whole forests of pine and hemlock cover this country and often-times disturb our senses with their sooty influence, yet all this is but a trifle compared with the sooty conversation which fills every private apartment, as well as more public places of resort. Not only taverns and retailers' shops are filled with the most poisonous balderdash, but even the temples of the Most High are not exempted . . . Drinking, Sabbath-breaking, swearing, and immodesty pervail".[2 & 3]

E. Standing of the Clergy in the Community.

(1) As regards the education of the clergy, our tables of statistics show what a large per cent of them were college-bred men. Thayer gives the exact proportion, as follows: "Forty-eight of the fifty-two settled ministers in 1764 were college graduates".[4] But when we come to the general moral tone among the clergy of New Hampshire - during and previous to the Revolution - we are frankly puzzled. We find a surprisingly long list of those who either fell into intemperance + drunkenness, or into profanity, profligacy, skepticism, etc. Take Peterborough, for example. Two pastors in succession had to be dismissed for immorality: "the pestilent examples of these two men were enough to bring a blight on religion in any place. A tithe of their immoralities would, at this day, put down the character of a minister almost beyond hope of redemption".[5] But Thayer says that "the body of the ministers of this period (1750-1800) were men of high char-

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1. Quint, Historical Memoranda of Ancient Dover, New H., I, 37.
2. Collections of the Prot. Episc. Hist. Soc. II, 34-5 (Italics are mine).
3. Londonderry and other Scotch-Irish towns probably furnished exceptions to the above. Morison says of them "If, at any time, a man has had hard thoughts of his neighbor he did not whisper it about in private scandal but the offender was the first to hear of it" and Parker adds: "No people were more distinguished for their strict and inflexible code of morals". Parker, Hist. of Londonderry, p. 69.
4. Granite Monthly, Vol. 41 (1909), 64.
5. Lawrence, The New H. Churches, p. 240

acter and exemplary lives".[1]

(2) As for the general standing of the clergy in the community, we must not forget that in quite a number of cases the minister exercised a double office - either as pastor and teacher, or as pastor and physician; which added considerably to their importance. And that the minister must be careful to preserve outward decorum, is illustrated in the case of one who was dismissed from his parish because, in making a pastoral call, "he greatly lowered his professional dignity by clambering over the rails of the fence, instead of coming in by the gate as a Clergyman should"![2]. We are uncertain whether the case of the minister who was dismissed "for driving his horse too fast up-hill" is one of breach of decorum or of cruelty to animals.[3] By 1776, times had changed somewhat from the days when a candidate - going to the place of his ordination - "was preceeded by a large procession - led by a band of martial music". But it still holds largely true, for the earlier part of our period, that the ministers were

"the only publicly educated men in their towns; that their heads were crowned with magnificent wigs, and they were venerated as a superior order of beings".[4]

F. The Frontier Church as a Social Institution.

(1) But we should not overlook, in conclusion, the important relation which the church bore to the community as a "Social Centre". This aspect of church life is made plain by Stackpole, who says:

"The law that all persons who were able should go to the place of worship, on Sundays, was rigidly enforced in the early days . . . But previous to the Revolution, going to meeting was practically optional, although the majority preferred to go, because this was the easiest way of seeing all the neighbors. The Congregations on Sunday were social assemblies besides being - at least nominally - religious".[5]

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1. Granite Monthly, Vol. 41 (1909), 64.
2. Ibid., Vol. 12 (1880), 299-300.
3. Lawrence, The New H. Churches, p. 88.
4. Ibid., p. 216.
5. Stackpole, Hist. of New H., II, 303.

(2) Besides this indirect social functioning, there were several ways in which the early churches consciously functioned as social institutions. One of these is illustrated by the spinning-match which was held at Dover - described as follows:

> "After the laudable example of the ladies in divers towns in this and the neighboring provinces . . . . . about 40 ladies met at the minister's house in Dover, some of whom brought with them flax and cotton to spin, and others the yarn ready spun; and after spending the day in a very industrious and agreeable manner, they generously presented to Mrs. Belknap the fruits of their labor . . . they behaved with the utmost order and decency, and were entertained with the best refreshments the season afforded". [1]

The early Singing-Schools, which were usually held in the meeting-house, and the Ordination Feasts, and Roof-raisings, afford other examples of the social functioning of the frontier churches.

(3) But this direct social functioning was — as compared with the present-day church — very restricted and meagre. The chief social importance of the frontier church lies in its all-day program of services. The morning service was followed by a noon recess which allowed those who came from a distance to eat their lunch, and enjoy a brief repose, before the long afternoon service set in. Reverend Frederick P. Wells has called attention to this aspect of frontier church life, as follows:

> "In those days everybody went to church . . . . for the Meeting-house was the one place in all the region where everybody saw everybody else, and where every bit of local gossip was in circulation. The long morning was given up to argument and conversation. We may be sure that in the days preceding the Revolution, there was no place where the issues of the hour were more fully discussed than at the Meeting-house on the Sabbath, between services". [2]

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1. Life of Dr. Belknap, (edited by his Granddaughter), p. 64.
2. Hist. of Newbury, Vt., p. 69. Italics are mine.

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CHAPTER SIX

NEW HAMPSHIRE CHURCHES AND THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

A. The Scope of our Present Inquiry.

In order to keep our question of the relation of the New Hampshire Churches to the American Revolution within practical bounds, we shall - in the present chapter - limit the discussion largely to the attitude of the clergy. That we are justified in thus concentrating attention upon the ministerial members of the community, is evident when we recall the well-established fact that the clergy of revolutionary days were the chief molders of public opinion in their respective parishes.[1] And as regards New Hampshire, in particular, the cases are extremely rare in which the attitude of any one of the churches differed materially from that of its Pastor and spokesman. We are further confining the discussion to the early part of the revolutionary period - prior to (and partly including) 1776 - in order to ascertain, if possible, what part the New Hampshire clergy played in preparing the minds of the people for revolt, and in bringing about the sudden change of public opinion regarding Independence. But before we can discuss this problem intelligently, it will be necessary for us to make a brief survey of the political and economic situation from 1763 on;

B. The Political and Economic Situation on the Eve of Revolution.

(1) There had been considerable agitation in New Hampshire over the Stamp Act; but when, in 1767, John Wentworth returned to New Hampshire as Royal Governor, his advent was hailed with delight. Such was the popularity of Governor Wentworth that it prevented New Hampshire from entering into the Non-importation Agreement with the other colonies, in 1770. Even the tea crisis failed to impair the harmony between Wentworth and the people of his native state.

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1. This was especially true of New Hampshire, because the daily press had scarcely come into existence there, prior to 1776. The New H. Gazette was begun in 1756 and another weekly started in 1764 (Hurd, p. 88) Mr. Frank Miller calls the New H. Gazette 'the oldest newspaper in America'. (see Catalog of Dover P. L. at the John Crerar Library)

It was not until the Governor secretly hired carpenters to go to Boston - to build barracks for Gage's troops - that he and the people came to logger-heads.

(2) This was in July, 1774. Five months later we find Paul Revere speeding northwards with such ominous tidings that it caused the Minute-men of Portsmouth to raid Fort William and Mary, and capture the powder and munitions there. In another four months, 'the alarm of Lexington and Concord' was broadcasted through the country-sides and hills of New Hampshire, and hundreds of raw recruits streamed from town and farm towards Cambridge - 'going like a flock of wild geese, they hardly knew why or whither'.[1]

> In Derryfield; "Stark left the mill log on its carriage, and seizing his musket and powder horn — without stopping to put on his coat — started for the scene of war. Robert McKnight left his axe sticking in the tree he was felling. Another unyoked his oxen in the road, and followed on the heels of Stark".[2]

(3) Even after the call to arms, Governor Wentworth 'determined to plant the root of peace in New Hampshire,' and he made common cause with the people as late as May, 1775 - by protesting against the British seizure of two food ships in Portsmouth harbor. But shortly afterwards, an expelled member of the Assembly took refuge in the Governor's house, and the people trained a gun upon the Mansion and demanded his release. Thereupon, Wentworth 'conceived himself to be insulted', and soon sailed for Boston.[3] Thus quietly withdrew from the revolutionary scene a man 'who left not an enemy in all of New Hampshire', and whom his biographer terms the most loyal friend that that Commonwealth ever had.[4]

(4) Although New Hampshire was now fully committed to the Revolution, and rallied around the new Government which was set up in Exeter, we should not fail to note that there was nothing in the internal political situation in the province

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1. Granite Monthly, 54 (1922), 8.
2. Browne, "Derryfield in the Revolution" Manch. Hist. Assoc. Coll's, III, (iii.) Introdn.
3. Belknap, Hist. of New H., p. 356 (and S. P. G. Abstracts for 1774).
4. Mayo, John Wentworth, p. 195.

to warrant rebellion. We will next inquire into the economic situation, and see whether or not it will furnish an adequate 'casus belli':

"The psychological effect of the Masonian controversy which lasted through three or four generations was," says Snow, "to instill into the settlers of New Hampshire an inherited bitterness against a government that lent its aid and favor to an attempted imposition upon them of what they regarded as an unjust claim".[1]

In Sabine we read:

"Collisions between the revenue officers and the marines and ship-owners of Portsmouth; and between the guardsmen of the "King's Woods" and the lumberers of the interior had been frequent. Indeed, the "loggers" and sawyers" had whipped the deputies of the Surveyor-General so often and so severely that the term "swamp-law" was quite as significant a phrase as that of "lynch law" in our own time".[2]

And Backus furnishes the following significant testimony:

"None of the lands within the grant of New Hampshire were ever the free property of the people . . . before the late American war, and quit-rents were reserved upon the lands which were granted by their governors until the American Revolution put an end to them".[3]

(5) Although Hanley has said that 'the revolt in New Hampshire was chiefly political',[4] we have failed to find any adequate explanation of the course of events in either the political or economic situation. For, as Hammond points out, New Hampshire suffered litte from the effects of the Navigation Act - as compared with the other colonies. It may be that a careful examination of the relation of the Churches of New Hampshire to the Revolutionary agitation may bring to light the true nature of the revolt in this Province. Before passing on to this - the main object of our researches - let us recall the curious fact that not a single drop of Patriot blood was shed on the virgin soil of New Hampshire during the whole course of the war![5 & 6]

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1. Sabine, American Loyalists, p. ii. (Introduction)
2. Snow, Hist. Address . . . at Portsmouth, p. 16.
3. Backus, Hist. of the Baptists, II, 533.
4. "The Revolt in New H.", Granite Monthly, 43 (1911), 277.
5. Ibid., p. 277.
6. Snow says that New H. - "tho' the very first to blaze up in resistance to the Stamp Act, was among the last of the colonies to turn her face deliberately toward Revolution" (Hist. Address, p. 27) And Mr. C.S. Brigham says:- "The New H. Gazette was suspended in Jan'y, '76 because of its attack on Independence" (letter to H.E.W. from Amer. Ant. Society, 2/12/25)

C. Attitude of the Congregationalists towards the Revolution.

(1) The Influence of Congregationalism, in general.

"The importance of Congregationalism in the Revolution was", says Humphrey, "about equal to the weight of New England minus Rhode Island. In all the New England states except the latter it was the established religion, and a Puritan theocracy was waging the Revolution".[1] Other writers on this period give abundant evidence to this same effect.[2]

(2) The Election Sermon and its Influence: Samuel Langdon.

But the New Hampshire ministers of 1763-83 formed a semi-'articulate' group - so far as extant evidence of their attitude (as preserved in sermons, correspondence, etc.) is concerned. The "Election Sermon" - a New England institution, instituted in 1633 - was, says Humphrey, "one of the most powerful instruments imaginable for the creation of public opinion". But our researches have not brought to light any copies of, or quotations from, New Hampshire election sermons earlier than 1784.* The nearest approach to a revolutionary election sermon, bearing somewhat upon New Hampshire history, is that preached by Samuel Langdon at Watertown, Massachusetts, in 1775.[3] As Langdon was pastor of the Portsmouth Church up until 1772, the revolutionary stand which he took in this sermon (and also in the Dudleian Lecture which he delivered at Harvard College the same year) reflects, perhaps, the political ideas with which he may have inoculated his Portsmouth congregation.[4] But that there is ample room for doubt on this point is shown in a letter from Honorable Charles H Batchelder, of Portsmouth. He says: "Of the 15 names of Tories arrested in 1776, Pearce,

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1. Humphrey, Nationalism and Religion in America, 1774-89, p. 48.
2. See Thornton, The Spirit of the American Revolution, p. XXXVIII; Van Tyne, "The Influence of the Clergy, etc.," A. H. R., XIX, 56; Bunning, The Congregationalists, 166; Levin, "Religious Controversy as Effecting the American Revolution of 1775," Americana VIII (1913), 417.
3. Ezra Stiles, who spent about a year, 1777, as pastor of the Portsmouth Church, preached the Election Sermon at Watertown, Conn., in 1783 (also of a revolutionary nature). See Humphrey, op. cit., p. 48.
4. Sprague, Annals of the American Pulpit, I, 457 (for extracts from Langdon's Election Sermon see Humphrey, p. 66).

* The sermon preached in '76 by "Rev. Sam'l West of Dartmouth" [Massa.] was before the Massa. Legislature. (Headley, Chaplains & Clergy..., Chap. III)

Torrey, Little, and Treadwell appear on the records of the North (Congregational) Church'.[1] In spite of Old North Church having four of its members reported as "notoriously disaffected to the common cause", we feel justified in classing Langdon as a protagonist for the ~~patriot cause~~. Revolution.

(3) Other Protagonists for the Patriot Cause.

Another New Hampshire clergyman in the same class is Reverend Dr. Samuel Haven who was settled over Old South Church, Portsmouth, in 1752 and who continued in this office until long after the close of the Revolution. Of him, Brewster writes:

> "Dr. Haven was genuine "son of liberty", - giving the whole weight of his character, influence and exertion to the American cause. Soon the news of the Battle of Lexington reached Portsmouth, he and his family sat up a good part of the night making cartridges".[2]

But even in the case of Dr. Haven, we have not been able to secure any direct evidence (beyond mere titles of sermons) to indicate that he helped to prepare the popular mind for revolt. The list of his published sermons includes:[3]

1. "A convention sermon preached at the request of the Congregational Ministers of New Hampshire, 1760.
2. A Sermon on the death of George II, 1761.
3. A Sermon upon the Restoration of Peace, 1763.
4. *A sermon preached at Cambridge, Massachusetts*[4] and published at the request of the students, 1768.
5. *A sermon preached at Medfield, Massachusetts*[4], 1771.
6. An Election sermon before the General Court of New Hampshire, 1766.

Note: We have omitted ordination and funeral sermons from this list.

As regard the long break of seventeen years between the Medfield, (Massachusetts) sermon and the sermon preached before the General Court of New

1. Letter to H. E. A. - dated Portsmouth, November 26, 1924. He also mentions Robertson and Henderson as being on the records of the South (Unitarian) Church.
2. Brewster, Rambles about Portsmouth, pp. 319-22.
3. Sprague, Annals of the Amer. Pulpit, I, 433.
4. We italicize those which may have contained revolutionary ideas.

Hampshire, as the most significant thing about this list. A similar break occurs in the only other list of sermons of New Hampshire clergy (besides those of Dr. Belknap) which we have been able to find. We refer to the seven published sermons of Reverend Samuel McClintock, and especially to his sermon on "Herodias", in 1772, and the twelve years elapsing between it and his "Sermon at the Commencement of the New Constitution in New Hampshire"[1 & 4] (1784). To the best of our knowledge, the only other New Hampshire clergyman who might be classed as a Protagonist for the Revolutionary cause, is Reverend Samuel Hutchins of Lee. Scales says that "his sermons were alive with his patriotic spirit which enthused his hearers".[2] But not one of these sermons has been preserved - so far as we can ascertain - nor do we know of any of the dates on which they were delivered. As Hutchins later became a pauper - supported by the community purse - it is probable that his influence was not far-reaching - even in his own small town.[3] So in our Tabular View, we have classed Hutchins simply as one who "gave some help in other ways"; for we do know, definitely, that he and some of his parishioners went to the defense of Portsmouth harbor - early in 1776.

(4) Jeremy Belknap, the Patriot Preacher and Historian.

Documentary evidence as to the attitude of New Hampshire Congregationalists is confined pretty largely to the writings of Jeremy Belknap - who later became the founder of the Massachusetts Historical Society. Three sermons - dated 1772, '74 and '76 - are of special interest. In 1772, Captain Walderne asked Belknap to address his troops on their annual Muster-Day. He at first 'felt some conscientious scruples about undertaking a task which might seem to lend some countenance to war'. After he had delivered the Sermon - in the presence of His

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1. Sprague, Annals of the American Pulpit, I, 527. McClintock's biographer also mentions 3000 manuscript sermons of his, some of which had been preserved as late as 1850 (See Sprague, I, 525).
2. Scales, Lee, New H., p. 36
3. Scales, Hist. of Strafd. Co., p. 350.
4. McClintock left instructions in his will to destroy all of his sermons, except such few as his son might wish to keep as souvenirs.

Excellency, Governor Wentworth - the officers of the Regiment were so well pleased that they secured a copy of it for the Press. Here Dr. Belknap went no further than to ask: "Must we tamely yield to every lawless usurper, and suffer tyrants to sport with the lives and estates of mankind?"[1]

Then, in 1774, Belknap preached a sermon entitled "On account of the Difficulties of the King". In it, he asserted that, "when a ruler departs from these principles, and sets up another rule of government than the laws and constitution which he is sworn to maintain, then the government degenerates into tyranny".[2] And in 1776, he took an unequivocal stand in behalf of the Patriot cause and said to the newly-enlisted Company, at Dover: "Let every man . . . serve his country to the utmost of his power".[3] As a sort of postscript to this sermon, we will add that when Belknap had arrived at Cambridge - during the opening days of the War - he ~~had written~~ wrote to his wife: "Don't let my gun and ammunition get out of the house if you can help it".[4]

Even more significant than these three sermons is the writing which he addressed in September, 1774, "To the Gentlemen of the Army, now encamped on Boston Common". This is one of the most scathing Revolutionary philippics ever penned, as the following excerpts will show:

> "But, gentlemen, I pity you, - what have you done to deserve such disgrace? You are sent over into America for the meanest and basest purposes; to terrify the wretched inhabitants of this oppressed town with the apprehension of being murdered in the streets in some insignificant night-brawl. . . The noblest purpose for which you can be here employed, though you are ever so successful, will not raise your characters above the rank of a constable or a watchman; you will have nobody to encounter unless some hairbrained rioters should disturb the quiet of the night with their senseless vociferations and amuse themselves with rattling of broken windows. The highest

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1. Scales, op. cit., 182.
2. Ibid., p. 184.
3. Ibid., p. 185 (Italics are mine)
4. Ibid., p. 184.

manouvres in which you can then engage will be street firings, and the[1] fiercest opposition you can expect will be the throwing of brick-bats, in which exercise the despicable chimney-sweeper, perched on the top of his fuliginous pinnacle, will have a manifest advantage over you".[2]

The foregoing, clearly indicates that Dr. Belknap did not - at that date - anticipate armed rebellion on the part of the American colonists. And when the extreme gravity of the impending crisis became fully apparent, he seems to have become more guarded in his utterances - due, perhaps, to his close friendship with Governor John Wentworth, For, in October, 1775, after writing to his wife regarding a British naval manouvre against Boston, he added;

"I forbear any remarks on this proceeding till I see you . . . If an assult on ye town of Boston is really attempted I should think it rather injudicious to make such faints attempts as last night; but I forget myself".[3]

When, however, news of the Declaration of Independence reached Dover, Belknap threw all further reserve to the winds; for he went to the village school, announced that America was now a free nation, and headed a parade of happy, shouting children up and down the streets of the town. On return to the school-house, Dr. Belknap offered prayer and a holiday was declared.[4]

(5) Minutes of the General Association of Congregational Ministers in New Hampshire.

The only other documentary evidence, at hand, which bears upon the attitude of New Hampshire Congregationalists towards the Revolution, is that contained in the Minutes of the New Hampshire Association of (Congregational) Ministers (1747-88). This was the same organization as the "Pascataqua Association" to which other writers refer and of which Samuel Langdon was the leading member.[5]

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1. Italics are mine.
2. Life of Jeremy Belknap, pp. 82-3.
3. Mass. Hist. Collections, 6th series, Vol. IV, p. 92 (The Belknap Papers, Part III). Italics are mine.
4. Scales, Hist. of Straff. Co., p. 185.
5. Sprague, Annals of the Amer. Pulpit, I, 456.

These minutes contain a letter which was addressed to 'the Dissenters' in England, in 1751, from which we make pertinent excerpts, as follows:

> "You are sensible that we are not wholly out of danger of enemies; there may be secret designs against our Constitution and liberties . . . which may require ye utmost Care and vigilance and call for powerful advocates among you. We therefore entreat you to give us timely notice of every danger which may threaten us".[1]

An examination of these Minutes, up to the year 1788, brings out the surprising fact that no mention is made of things revolutionary - no hint even of political matters. In fact, there were not even any meetings of the Association for the period 1775-85,[2] and the next record begins on the same page on which the last was completed. As all the members of this association lived in the Piscataqua region and very few went to the War as chaplains, we regard it as very significant that these neighboring divines did not apparently, meet in their annual convention a single time during the whole course of the Revolution. Just what the significance of this is, we will discuss in our concluding paragraph.

(6) Leading Congregational Patriots.

The ministers of this denomination who rendered definite aid to the revolutionary cause fall mostly into three classes; those who served as chaplains in the ~~Priiot~~ Patriot Army; those who served in Legislative Assemblies; and those who sent sons to the Army, or gave pecuniary aid. As we have arranged this information in tabular form, we will only mention here one or two outstanding members of each group:

Samuel McClintock, 'in his ministerial bands', is the central figure in historic pictures of Bunker Hill. He also sent four sons into the Patriot Army.[3] Josiah Stearns sat in the State Convention at Exeter, and, on reaching

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1. "Minutes of the New H. Assoc. of Ministers" in Collections of the New H. Hist. Soc., IX, 16.
2. Ibid., (See Editor's note at top of page 63).
3. Sprague, Annals of the Amer. Pulpit, I, 525, and 527. and Headley, The Chaplains and Clergy of the Revolution, p. 71.

* The Concord M.H. was the rendezvous for ~~the~~ Capt. Jos. Walker's cavalry command: "there, on Sundays, he transmitted orders to his men". (Bacon, p. 400)

home, told his children that he had pledged himself for freedom against English rule and tyranny, and added: "If the cause fail, your poor old father's head will soon be a button for a halter".[1] The illustrious Paine Wingate sat, in turn, in three state and national assemblies.[2] And prominent among those who sent sons into the Army we find Timothy Walker, of Concord.* Walker's attitude is of special significance because of the opportunity which he had had of making first-hand observations in England. He made three voyages to the Mother Country - previous to the Revolution - as legal ~~agent~~ agent for the Concord settlers. After frequent conversations with Lord Mansfield and various members of the British ministry, he became convinced that nothing but the absolute submission of the colonies would satisfy Britain, and "that - in the end - we must have a war with Old England and a peace with France".[3] Before trying to draw any conclusions relative to the Congregational attitude - as a whole - let us examine the data included in the following tables:

(7) The Revolutionary Activities of Congregational Ministers.

A. Protagonists for the ~~Patriot~~ Patriot Cause:

(1) Samuel Langdon, Old North Church, Portsmouth, (till 1772).
(2) Jeremy Belknap, (Dover) Sermons of 1772, '74 and '76.
(3) Dr. Samuel Haven, Old South Church, Portsmouth. (Sermons of 1768 and '71).

B. Army Chaplains:

(1) Samuel McClintock, of Greenland (Bunker Hill)
(2) Ang. Hibbard, of Claremont (State Papers, XXX, 34).
(3) John Tucke, of Epsom (Lawrence, New Hampshire Churches, 382).

C. Served in Legislative Bodies:

(1) Abiel Foster, of Canterbury (Lyford, Hist. of Canterbury, Vol. I. p. 109)
(2) Josiah Stearns, of Epping; also gave money and sent sons.
(3) Elizah Fletcher, of Hopkinton (Lord, Liget Times in Hopkinton, p. 371)
(4) Paine Wingate, Pastor at Hampton Falls until 1776.

D. Gave some help in other ways:

(1) Timothy Walker, of Concord; sent sons into the army.
(2) Abraham Wood, of Chesterfield; sat on the C'tee to instruct the Town's

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1. Lawrence, The New H. Churches, p. 45.
2. Ibid., p. 15.
3. Farmer and Moore, Hist. Collections, III, 237.

delegate to the Exeter Convention. (Ward, Hist. of Cheshire and Sullivan Counties, p. 153).

(3) Samuel Hutchins, of Lee, went to the defense of Portsmouth harbor in 1776 (Scales, Lee, New Hampshire, p. 36).

Note: We found only one Tory Congregationalist in all New Hampshire. This was Micah Lawrence of Winchester.*

(8) Some Conclusions regarding the Congregationalists and the Revolution.

A casual survey of the foregoing table may convey the impression that the Congregational clergy of New Hampshire were instrumental in hastening on the revolutionary crisis. This would be in line with Stackpole's remarks:

"The Congregational churches of New Hampshire and throughout New England had done a great work. The seeds of political revolution were sown in many a sermon. The American Revolution found no more hearty supporters than almost the whole body of Congregational ministers".[1]

While we have no wish to contradict the findings of other writers - especially one who had access to a much wider range of material than can be found in the Middle West - our own researches do not fully sustain the above statement especially as regards political sermons. A more careful examination of our Table will reveal the fact that - so far as we can find documentary evidence - there was but one Congregational Clergyman in New Hampshire during the critical period of 1772-6 whose sermons dealt with current events. This was Jeremy Belknap. And Belknap's conservative attitude is shown in his account of the efforts toward reconciliation with the Mother Country which were made in January 1776.[2] Then, too, a warm friendship had long existed between Dr. Belknap and the Royal Governor - John Wentworth. As late as March ~~September~~ and November, 1774, we find friendly letters still being exchanged between these two gentlemen.[3] ~~But~~ We find one historian who asserts that Belknap, by his writings and sermons, helped

1. Stackpole, Hist. of New H., II, 310.
2. See his Hist. of New H., p. 366.
3. Mass. Hist. Collections, 6th Series, Vol. IV, pp. 47-8, 54, and 64. (The Belknap Papers, Part III.)
* Lawrence, The New H. Churches, p. 308.

to hasten on the crisis with the Mother Country.[1] But, from all the evidence which we have examined, we conclude that Belknap's attitude was generally conservative - until the early part of 1776. He is, in fact, best described in the words of Hammond as "a patriot, but not an agitator".[2]

We have devoted considerable space to the discussion of this one Churchman's attitude, because he was doubtless the leading member of the Piscataqua Association of Ministers (though Dr Samuel Langdon may have been its leader during the earlier part of this period). That there was some lack of unanimity as to what their attitude should be, is indicated by the fact that the meeting scheduled to convene in 1775 never was held. Once a break had occurred, it was evidently difficult for them to get together again on the same old footing; so we find an interval of ten years before their next meeting.[3]

But the fact that Congregationalists gave such unanimous and hearty support to the revolutionary movement - once the storm had burst - makes it seem a fair inference that their influence was more or less pro-revolutionary from the beginning; especially when the well-known revolutionary attitude of Congregationalists elsewhere in New England is taken into account.

D. Attitude of the Presbyterians towards the Revolution.

*(1) President Wheelock of Dartmouth, and his precarious situation.

When we remember that President Wheelock was dependent upon friends in England and Scotland for almost the entire financial backing which his college was receiving, and when we remember the cordial friendship between him and Governor Wentworth, it is at once evident that he occupied an unusually difficult and precarious situation. It is only natural that we find him trying to preserve a

1. Wadleigh, Notable Events in the Hist. of Dover, p. 159.
2. Otis G. Hammond: Letter to H. E. L.-Portsmouth, November 17, 1924.
3. "Minutes of the New H. Assoc. of Ministers" Collections of New H. Hist. Soc., IX, p. 63 (Editor's note)

* Miss Alice Baldwin says in her thesis that during the Revolution Pres. Wheelock (+D.C.) were the centre of a movement to demand equal rights for certain [river] + for a convention to draw up a State Constitution.

position of neutrality as long as possible. In 1775 he - together with several members of his college faculty - addressed a testimonial to the House of Representatives, protesting against "certain aspersions which had been made against the person of the Royal Governor, John Wentworth, and attesting their loyalty to his person and office".[1]

Then, as late as November, 1775, we find that Wheelock got himself into trouble by refusing to celebrate Thanksgiving on the date set by the New Hampshire revolutionary Legislators. Instead, he preached his sermon on the date set by the Connecticut Legislature. Hammond says;

> "Wheelock was accused of Toryism for no other reason than the above. The clamor was so great that he finally consented to preach another sermon on the 30th (as per the New Hampshire proclamation). To fully clear up the 'doleful smoke' he was obliged to call upon the committees of safety of Hanover, Lebanon, Plainfield, and Cornish, who completely exonerated him".[2]

In this second sermon, of November 30th, Wheelock makes a clear statement of his allegiance to the Continental Congress, as follows;

> "I look upon the provinces, as well as individuals, to be bound, and that it is of the last importance to the colonies in this very dark and critical state of our civil affairs, carefully to observe and strictly to adhere to the advice and direction of that body of wise and prudent counsellors, who are appointed by the colonies for that purpose".[3]

*It was shortly after the above sermon that Wheelock demonstrated that 'actions speak louder than words', for we find him assisting to clear the Connecticut valley of Tories, as described in the following letter;

> "The Reverend Eleazer Wheelock of Dartmouth College, in conjunction with three deacons, put an end to the Church of England in this state (N.H.) as early as 1775. They seized me (Hanna Cossit), Captain Peters, Mr Cole, and all the Church people for 200 miles upon this

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1. State Papers of New H., XVIII, 649.
2. Hammond, Tories of New H., p. 46
3. From "Liberty of Conscience; or no King but Christ in his Church", p. 19. Above quotation sent to us by Mr N. L. Goodrich, Librarian of Dartmouth College, in a letter dated November 11, 1924.

* We should not forget that, as a result of the War, Wheelock was plunged into a debt of nearly 1000 £bs. (Collections of N.H.H.S., IX, 100).

river (Connecticut) and confined us in close goals, after beating and drawing us through mud and water'.[1]

(2) Other Presbyterian Patriots.

There were several others who did their 'bit' in a quiet way. These were McGregore of Londonderry, who sent two sons into the patriot army,[2] and John Wilson - said to be a radical Whig in his views - "but who let nothing draw him from his study".[3] After the revolutionary period had passed, we find Reverend Samuel Perley sitting in a State Convention which ratified the Federal Constitution.[4] But we have no evidence that any one of these three men came out on the patriot side previous to the Declaration of Independence.

(3) Tories among the Presbyterian Clergy.

But we can match these Patriots with as many outspoken loyalists - Reverend John Morrison of Peterborough, who joined the British army at Boston in 1775,[5] and Reverend John Houston of Bedford.[6] Houston was such a pronounced Tory that the Town voted to shut the meeting-house against him. His conduct finally became so offensive that the people treated him to a six-mile ride upon a wooden horse. But his refusal to sign the Association Test, in 1776, shows that this ride did not cure his Toryism. He kept up his opposition to the Patriot cause until 1778, when he was called before the State Committee of Safety, and had to face the alternative of imprisonment or recantation. He chose the latter course, and continued to preach in various parts of New Hampshire and Vermont, 'as occasion required'. Of a third Presbyterian - Reverend Solomon Moore, of New Boston, it is said that he was suspected of opposing the American Revolution. Some earnest Whigs among his people would not hear him preach. He was arrested,

1. Hawkins, The Missions of the Church of England, p. 251.
2. Sprague, Annals of the Amer. Pulpit, III, 30.
3. Lawrence, The New H. Churches, p. 30.
4. Ibid., p. 133.
5. Farmer and Moore, Historical Collections, I, 55, and Lawrence, The New H. Churches, p. 240.
6. Potter, Hist. of Manchester, pp. 438-40, and Lawrence, The New H. Churches, p. 157.

charged with opposition to the cause and is thought to have suffered a brief imprisonment at Exeter. Subsequently he professed allegiance to the state and had a comfortable ministry.[1] And of a fourth Presbyterian clergyman - David Mitchell, of Pembroke - we read that he was "one of nine out of 102, who could not violate his allegiance to the King".[2] It is probable that the 102 refers to the total number of ministers of all denominations who were put to the test in 1776, and that there were nine who refused it. Of this number we have definitely ascertained only six, as follows: John Houston and David Mitchell, Presbyterians; Dr. Samuel Shepard and Artemis Aldrich, Baptists; Rumm Cossit, Episcopalian; and Micah Lawrence, Congregationalist. (See Assoc. Test in State Papers, Vol. XXX.)

(4) The Synod of New England and its meeting in Londonderry in September, 1776.

And now for the most significant piece of evidence which we have been able to find: It consists in the action taken by the Synod of New England at its meeting in Londonderry, on September 4, 1776. Immediately after the opening prayer, the question was put "whether any suspected to be inimical to the liberties of the independent states of America . . . and who refuses to declare his allegiance to the same shall have a seat in this judicature"? It was voted that he should not. The question was then put "whether the Declarration of Independence should be supported by all ranks and degrees of persons in these colonies"? The Consideration of this question was "suspended" until the next day. When they reconvened, they voted that "whereas John Morrison has eloped to the ~~ministerial~~ British army and shamefully behaved himself, he shall be deposed from the ministerial office".[3] John Houston

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1. Lawrence, The New H. Churches, p. 229.
2. Carter, The Hist. of Pembroke, New H., p. 261.

(3) As Morrison was pastor at Peterborough only until 1772, + as no other church was established here, it is not strange that Smith's book - Peterborough Hist. in the Amer. Revolution - makes no mention of the attitude of either church or clergy.

was put on trial, and finally suspended in 1778.[1] But we shall not be ready to form our conclusions as to the attitude of Presbyterians towards the Revolution, until we have examined the Returns of the Association Test, as regards both ministers and towns. The two Tables which follow show the results of the Test, so far as the Returns are available:

(5) Association Test Roll-Call of Presbyterian Ministers**
(based on Ms to Papers, XIX)

I. Those who signed the Test.

(1) D. McGregore, of Londonderry - - - - - - - - - - - - - - p. 84

*(2) Solomon Moor, of New Boston - - - - - - - - - - - - - - p. 95

(3) Simon Williams, of Windham - - - - - - - - - - - - - - p.164

(4) John Wilson, of Chester - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - p. 28

*(5) Samuel Perley, of Seabrook - - - - - - - - - - - - - - p.142

(6) William Davidson, of Londonderry - - - - - - - - - - - - p. 85

(7) Abner Bayley, of Salem - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - p.135

II. Those who refused to sign.

(1) John Houston, of Bedford - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - p. 16

(2) Daniel Mitchell, of Pembroke - - - - - - - - - - - - - - p.110

III. Those whose names do not appear in the Returns.

(1) Nathaniel Merrill; left his parish in 1774.

(2) John Morrison; left his parish before 1772.

(3) Eleazer Wheelock; no returns given for Hanover.

(4) Eden Burroughs; " " " " Hanover Centre.

(5) Obadiah Noble; " " " " Orford.

(6) John Strickland; " " " " Nottingham West.

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1. Blaikie, Presbyterianism in New England, pp. 170-1. (Italics are Mine).
** Total number of Presbyterian Ministers - 15; see Table II, App.
* These two men affixed "V.D.M." after their signatures. 'Verbi Dei Minister', or 'Minister of the word of God', see Funk and Wagnalls, Standard English Dictionary, p. 2314.

(6) Association Test Returns from Presbyterian Towns**

(State Papers, XXX)

I. Towns in which everybody signed:

(1) Chester, - p. 28

(2) Seabrook, - p. 142

(3) Peterborough - p. 111

(4) Bedford, all signed except Houston - - - - - - - - - - p. 15

(5) Boscawen, all but one signed - - - - - - - - - - - - - p. 17

II. Towns where 3 or more refused the Test:

(1) Windham, all signed but 3 - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - p. 154

(2) Pembroke, 9 men refused the Test - - - - - - - - - - p. 110

(3) New Boston, 47 men refused the Test - - - - - - - - - p. 95

(4) Londonderry, 16 men refused the Test - - - - - - - - p. 84
Although both McGregore and Davidson signed.

(5) Salem; 25 men refused here - - - - - - - - - - - - - - p. 136

III. Towns for which no Returns are given:

(1) Nottingham West

(2) Francestown

*(3) Hanover

*(4) Hanover Centre

*(5) Orford

** Total No. of Presbyterian towns only 15; two churches in one town

* These towns were on, or near, the Connecticut far removed from Exeter - the seat of the Revolutionary government - and in the same general district as Haverhill. We believe the following shows why there were no returns from these three towns. "There was little sympathy on the part of the people of Haverhill and the surrounding towns for the Exeter Government. The tie of allegiance to New Hampshire was not strongly binding". Whitcher, Hist. of the town of Haverhill, New H., p. 97.

(7) Conclusion as to Presbyterians and the Revolution

The church historian, Briggs, has said that "the great body of American Presbyterians hesitated about breaking altogether with the Mother Country".[1] And when we recall that the leading Presbyterians of New Hampshire at this time were Wheelock and McGregore, it seems a fair inference that this holds particularly true of New Hampshire. Wheelock's attitude has been sufficiently dealt with. As regards McGregore, we must remember that he was an old man by the time that the storm clouds of revolution had begun to gather. Although two of his sons fought in the Patriot Army, we have two good reasons - besides his advanced age - for believing that he was conservative in his attitude: (1) We can find no direct evidence to the contrary. (2) The Mild action of the Synod of New England in 1776. As this meeting was held in McGregore's own church, in Londonderry, and as he had been the leading member of the Boston Presbytery - the main constitutent of the Synod - his influence probably outweighed that of any other man present. So the Synod's mild action regarding Mr. John Houston, and its having never actually put the question re the Declaration of Independence to a vote, naturally seems to be a reflection of McGregore's own tolerant attitude.[2]

One of the numerous town historians of New Hampshire has a great deal to say about the patriotism evinced by the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians of ~~Londonderry shire~~ London-derry.[3] But in spite of their standing seven to two in the signing of the Association Test, we conclude that the Presbyterian clergy of New Hampshire while, in general, pre-revolutionary were, nevertheless, quite conservative in their attitude (at least prior to the actual break with England.)

E. The Baptists and the Revolution.

(1) Superficial evidence regarding the Baptists.

A superficial study of the relation of New Hampshire Baptists to

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1. Briggs, American Presbyterianism p. 171.
2. Blaikie, Presbyterianism in New England, pp. 170-71.
3. See Parker, Hist. of Londonderry, Chapter III.

the American Revolution would certainly lead one to the conclusion that they were all on 'the popular side' of the revolutionary movement. Although there is little direct evidence which bears on this question - either pro or con - one cannot fail to be impressed by the patriotic activities of (Governor) William Plumer, of Epping. He was converted by Reverend Shepard, in 1779, when only twenty years of age, and became a Baptist evangelist. But after several years he went into politics. As a member of the Constitutional Convention, and of various State and National assemblies, he waged a ceaseless fight for 'complete religious liberty'.[1] His main career belongs to the post-revolutionary period, but is of some retrospective importance, of course.

(2) Relations to Baptists in other Colonies.

Then, the relation of New Hampshire Baptists to those of Massachusetts and Rhode Island would lead to the conclusion that they were outspoken advocates of the Revolution. For the first permanent Baptist Church in New Hampshire was established by Reverend Hezekiah Smith of Haverhill, Massachusetts.[2] And this was none other than the Reverend Smith whose patriotic ardor was so intense that it tore him from church and family and sent him as a chaplain to the army for five years".[3] Reverend Smith was also active in the formation of the Warren Association (Warren, R. I.) in 1767. This was the first association of Baptists in New England, and as it sent missionaries into New Hampshire, in 1779, it would seem to have exercised general supervision over the New Hampshire churches. The revolutionary attitude of the Warren Association is too well known to need further comment. Another reason for connecting New Hampshire Baptists with those in Rhode Island, is that Rhode Island Baptists assumed leadership for all New England Baptists. 'From Rhode Island citadels war was waged for religious liberty and for freedom from church taxation . . . Rhode Island, being the rendezvous of New England Baptists, formed the rallying point of attack'.[4]

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1. Stackpole, History of New H., II, p. 296.
2. Vedder, A Short History of the Baptists, p. 313.
3. Cathcart, The Baptists and the American Revolution, p. 36.
4. Crandall, Religious Sects in Rhode Island (1763-83), p. 1.

(3) The published writings of Dr. Shepard.

Our examination of the published writings of Dr. Shepard revealed, however, that he confined himself wholly to religious topics. This raised a very lively suspicion in our mind. That there was ample ground for such, is shown by an inspection of the returns of the Association Test. There we not only find that this leader (and semi-Bishop) of the New Hampshire Baptists refused to sign the Test, but it further reveals that there was not a single town in which there were any considerable number of Baptists, but what sent in a list of names of those who had refused the Test! (It is, however, partly a matter of inference[1], that most of those who refused the Test in these towns were Baptists).

(4) ASSOCIATION TEST ROLL-CALL OF BAPTIST MINISTERS
(Based on State Papers, Vol. XIX)

I. Those who signed:

(1) Ebenezer Bailey of Westmoreland - - - - - - - - - - - - - p. 157

(2) Elipha^e^lth Leith of Deerfield - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - p. 41

(3) Ashburnham Ballou of Richmond, first church - - - - - - - - p. 122

II. Those who refused to sign:

(1) Dr. Samuel Shepard, Pastor of the Churches at Brentwood, Nottingham and Strathan, et al. - - - - - - - - p. 147

(2) Reverend Artemis Aldrich of Richmond, second church - - p. 124

Note: The Total Number of Baptist Ministers was 5; See Table III, (App.)

(5) ASSOCIATION TEST RETURNS FROM BAPTIST TOWNS:

(1) Brentwood: 18 men refused to sign - - - - - - - - - - - - - p. 21

(2) Deerfield: 20 " " " " - - - - - - - - - - - - - p. 43

*(3) Gilmanton: 32 " * " " " - - - - - - - - - - - - - p. 57

(4) Hopkinton: 14 " " " " - - - - - - - - - - - - - p. 69

(5) Lebanon: everybody signed: few Baptists here - - - - - p. 81

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1. Of Connecticut Baptists, Fliton says that their opposition to the principle of war in general, made them rather unpopular until their patriotism was actually proved by active service. Fliton, Relig. Influences in Conn. (1763-83), p. 66.

* (Some signed a statement re religious principles). Note: Hon. Mr. Batchellor, Editor of State Papers says it is assumed that these 73 - on a separate list refused.

(6) Nottingham: 25 men refused to sign - - - - - - - - - - - - - p. 108

*(7 & 8) Richmond (two churches) 73 refused - - - - - - - - - - - p. 123

(9) Strathan: 42 men refused to sign - - - - - - - - - - - - - - p. 147

(10) Westmoreland: 6 men refused to sign - - - - - - - - - - - - p. 158

(11) Moore: 31 Quakers and 10 others refused - - - - - - - - - - p. 156

Note: The total number of Baptist towns was 11 (see Table III, App.)

(6) Conclusion as to New Hampshire Baptists and the Revolution

It is in connection with the Baptist denomination that our researches have brought out the most interesting contrast with other colonies. It is particularly striking when we compare New Hampshire with Virginia. There, "the pendulum of the Baptist clock never swung without striking freedom and equality at every stroke".[1 & 2] Although the Baptist clergy of New Hampshire stood three to two in signing the Test, one of the two who refused was Dr Samuel Shepard. And the influence of this one man was probably far greater than the combined influence of the three who signed. The fact that there was only one Baptist town (Lebanon) where everybody signed, ~~(Lebanon)~~ gives still stronger confirmation of the conclusion which we believe our thesis has proved to be unquestionably correct; namely, that the majority of the New Hampshire Baptists did not support the revolutionary movement prior to, and during, the year 1776.

F. The Quakers and the Revolution.

(1) Lack of Sufficient Evidence. Speaking of American Quakers as a whole, Humphrey says that their position of non-combatancy became untenable.[3] As regards New Hampshire Quakers, we are forced to base our conclusions almost

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* See footnote on bottom of page 91.

1. Zeller, Comparison of Denominational Forces - - - in Virginia, p. 36.
2. For further comparison with other colonies see Miss Snock's thesis on New York; Miss Selfermoser's, also on Virginia; Miss Waterson's, on Delaware; Mr. Crandall's on Rhode Island; Miss Barr's, on Pennsylvania; Miss Shea's, on New Jersey; and Mr. Beck's, on Georgia. (All of the above are on file at the U. of C. ~~Library~~ Library)
3. Humphrey, Nationalism and Religion in America, p. 132. He quotes, also, from Backus, who says the Revolution greatly weakened the Quakers.

entirely on the Association Test, and the evidence which it furnishes cannot - in every case - be regarded as conclusive. Especially is this true when the Quakers are the ones under consideration. For this name afforded umbrage to certain New Hampshire citizens who didn't wish to commit themselves - when the Association Test was going the rounds. Mr Heath, of Weare, belongs to this class: "He was out in the French War, but when the Revolution came on he refused to sign the Test and had himself classed as a Quaker. But he soon changed his mind, enlisted, and served honorably for six years".[1] Otis G. Hammond says "I think they (the Quakers) took no attitude towards the war as an organization".[2] But the fact that one of the pre-revolutionary protest meetings was held at the Friends' Meeting-house in Dover seems to indicate that certain groups of New Hampshire Quakers were mildly supporting the popular cause. (Wadleigh, Notable Events)

(2) Association Test Returns from Quaker Towns. (State Papers, Vols. VIII and XXX)

1. Dover: no returns sent in from here.
2. Hampton-Seabrook: 2 refused in H: one in S. VIII, 237 and XXX, 142
3. Rochester: 22 Quakers refused - - - - - - - VIII, 276
4. Weare: 41 Quakers refused - - - - - - - - - - VIII, 291
5. Kensington: 12 Quakers refused - - - - - - VIII, 244
6. Barrington: 12 " " - - - - - - VIII, 13
7. Epping: 11 men refused here - - - - - - - - - VIII, 232
8. Hawke (or Danville) 4 Quakers refused - - - VIII, 239
9. Somersworth: no returns sent in.
10. Brentwood: 18 men refused; Baptists here also VIII, 21
11. Exeter: Incomplete returns
12. Durham-Lee: 14 men refused in Lee - - - - - VIII, 250
13. Sandwich: 9 men refused here - - - - - - - VIII, 141-2
14. Richmond: 2 Baptist churches here also: evidence inconclusive
15. Nottingham West (Hudson) only 1 refused - - VIII, 263

Note: Of the 5 remaining Quaker towns we can find none which sent in any returns from the Test.

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1. Little, Hist. of Weare, New H., p. 116.
2. Letter to H. E. M. - - - dated Concord, November 14, 1924.

(3) Conclusion as to the Quakers and the Revolution.

We forbear any conclusions as to the corporate attitude of New Hampshire Quakers towards the Revolution, as we have not secured sufficient evidence to support any conclusions, either pro or con. The above Table simply registers what we would naturally expect, viz: their religious opposition to the principle of war, in general. That many of them may have followed the example of Mr. Heath, and have given actual aid to the cause, in either service or money, we do not doubt.* (e.g., 14 members of Dover Mtg. were disciplined for enlistment) —see Butler, p. 69.

G. Episcopalians and the Revolution.

(1) Hard Times for the Claremont Church.

Our interest here centers chiefly in Reverend Ranna Cossit, of Claremont, whose church bore the brunt of the anti-Tory persecution in New Hampshire. Reverend Cossit was interned at Claremont during the course of the war - "except as far as the ministrations of religion were concerned;" i.e. he could visit his country parishioners in case of sickness or death.[1] But he kept up regular services in the Claremont Church - "not omitting even the prayer for the King".[2] We have already mentioned, in a previous section, the way in which President Wheelock of Dartmouth, and a party of his elders, tried to rid the Connecticut valley of Tories; They handled both Reverend Cossit and the aged Schoolmaster, Samuel Cole, pretty roughly. And in 1775, the S. P. G. received a letter from Mr. Cossit (dated December '74) in which he told them of 'a providential escape from a party of 300 men who threatened his life.'[3] But in 1778, the Claremont Committee of Safety permitted Reverend Cossit to go to New York - to buy provisions for his family. While there, he wrote to London that his parishioners and communicants at Claremont had greatly increased - 'though in sundrie places the churches have dwindled away'. Some had fled to the King's army,

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1. Perry, Hist. of the Amer. Colonial Church, I, p. 580.
2. Digest of the S. P. G. Records, p. 48
3. (Hinchcliffe) Sermon before the S. P. G., 1776, p. 37 of the appended Abstracts.

* But in 1777, the House of Rep's had a C'tee examine the Friends' Records in Dover, Hampton Falls, Seabrook, et al. (Siebert, p. 3)

some were banished, and some dead. In this letter Reverend Cossit also says he received frequent insults since he was made a prisoner (April, 1775) and that he and his congregation had been cruelly persecuted by fines "for refusing to fight against their King".[1]

(2) The famous Tory Hole - near Claremont.

In view of these persecutions, it is not surprising to find that the Church of England folk had a secret rendezvous - the famous "Tory Hole" of Claremont. It was a circular depression in such a remote and inaccessible spot that it was not discovered by the patriots until after peace was declared.[2] The returns of the Association Test show that 31 men at Claremont, including Father Cossit, refused to sign.[3] So it seems certain that Tory Hole must have seen some lively times, and it was doubtless one of the links in the British chain of communication between New York and the Canadas.* Even after the conclusion of the War, these Claremont Tories did not become reconciled to the new Government. Siebert says:

> "Some of the non-jurors (to the Association Test, etc.) were as unforgiving as the Revolutionists. A notable instance of this is disclosed by the petition of two Claremont men to Governor General Haldimand at Quebec, requesting permission for their own and 45 other families of Claremont to settle in that province. They complained of being 'overburdened with Usurpation, Tyrene, and oppression from the Hands of Violent men' . . . and that they were impatient to find an asylum in their Royal Master's Dominion . . . . These petitioners sent Captain Sumner to Quebec with a letter from the clerk, wardens, and vestry men of their church".[4]

(3) The Portsmouth Church during the Revolution.

As the Portsmouth Church was left without a Pastor (by the death of Reverend Brown, 1773) there was no one for the Church of England folk there to rally around; so over-zealous patriots wreaked vengeance principally on the Church building itself. True, there were a number of Portsmouth loyalists

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1. (Yorke) Sermon before the S. P. G., 1779, p. 46 of the appended Abstracts.
2. Granite Monthly, IV (1881), 174.
3. Provincial Papers of New H., VIII, pp. 219-20.
4. Siebert, The Royalist Refugees of New H., pp. 22-3.

* Hammond in his Tories of New H., p. 25, says: "Here meetings were held in safety for a long time, and travellers were sheltered and fed, and passed on their journey".

whose property was confiscated and who were banished, in 1778.[1] But of the 50 persons who refused the Test in Portsmouth - of whom 15 were "notoriously disaffected to the Common Cause"[2] - we do not learn that any of them were subjected to mob violence. In 1774 or 5, Reverend Mather Byles of Boston had been appointed by the S. P. G. to succeed Reverend Brown at Portsmouth. But, "when he was on the point of removing there, such distractions took place in New Hampshire as rendered his removal unsafe".[3] So Reverend Byles was one of the numerous Britishers who 'went to Halifax'. (1)

(4) Indications that St John's was patriotic.

In 1782, the annual report of the Society shows that Episcopalianism had not been completely extinguished in Portsmouth during the course of the war. The writer says: "The church at Portsmouth, which had been much damaged in the beginning of the troubles, hath lately been repaired; and a Mr. Adams - a young man bred at Dartmouth College - officiates there to a very decent congregation.[4] But during the 10 years interim between Brown and Adams, there is only one incident on record regarding the Portsmouth Church. That is the will of Honorable Theodore Atkinson, in 1779, by which he left a legacy of 200 pounds to St. John's church - the interest of which was to be used for bread to be given to the poor. This was called the "church dole". The bread was placed on the brass covers of the baptismal font every Sunday morning.[5] Wallington says that Mr Atkinson brought the weekly dole, himself, as long as he could be about; she also indicated that some form of services were held by the people of this church during the war, as:-

> "The prayers for the King were obliterated from the Prayer Books by the simple process of pasting over them slips of paper on which were printed prayers for Congress and the success of the patriot army . . . . Money was scarce and the prayer books were too costly to be cast aside. Years later an English officer, finding one of these old prayer books in the little church, cut out a leaf as a relic".[6] (See note 1-a on p. 97)

1. Sabine, American Loyalists, pp. 117, 137-8, 150, et al.
2. Provincial Papers of New H., VIII, pp. 269-70
3. (Hincholiffe) Sermon before the S. P. G., 1776, p. 36 of the appended Abstract.
4. (Moore) Sermon before the S. P. G., 1782, p. 43 of the appended Abstract.
5. Perry, Hist. of the Amer. Colonial Church, p. 578
6. Wallington, Historic Churches of America, p. 143.

(5) Conclusions as to the Episcopalians and the Revolution.

The foregoing would seem to indicate that the Episcopalians of Portsmouth were - as a whole - swept from moorings of loyalty by the rising tides of patriotic ardor. But the fact that nearly one-half of those proscribed, in 1778, were from Portsmouth - the main seat of Episcopalianism in New Hampshire[1(b)] made us cautious of conclusions. Further inquiry brought valuable information direct from Portsmouth. Honorable Charles H Batchelder writes;

> "Of the 15 names of Tories arrested in 1776, Rindge, Sheafe, Warner and Stavers (and possibly John Pierce) were connected with St. John's . . . It is evident that those few Tories (the fifteen) had no very strong Episcopal preponderance, and the smallness of their number - as compared with the total signers of the Association Test[2] - shows that St. John's was in no sense Tory in its sympathies".[3]

It is evident, then, that the Portsmouth Church and the Claremont Church were separated not only by the entire width of the State, but also by the far wider chasm that opened between the Loyalists and Patriots. While Reverend Cossit, on the Connecticut, was continuing to read the prayers for the King, the Vestrymen of St. John's were busy pasting up their Prayer Books. At first glance, the attitude of New Hampshire Epsicopalians seems to be a "fifty-fifty" proposition. But we must remember that St. John's was the larger, and by far the more influential, of the two churches. So we may fairly conclude, then, that the majority of the Church of England folk in New Hampshire favored the Revolution; or, at least, that they sided in with popular cause after the movement was well under way.[4]

Note 1-a: Dolores Bacon says that 'in his anger, he cut out the page of prayers for Congress, etc. with his sword' (see p. 96)

1(b) Hammond, Tories of New H., p. 22 (See also, Sabine, p. 137)
2. Those reported in the Association Test returns as being "notoriously disaffected to the common cause".
3. Charles H Batchelder: letter to H.E.C. dated Portsmouth, November 26, 1924. He also names six of the fifteen who belonged to either the North or South (Congregational) Church, leaving only four of whom he says: "The others I do not know about without further investigation".
4. The Association Test does not include any returns from Holderness.

OUTLINE OF CHAPTER SEVEN

SUMMARY AND CONCLUDING DISCUSSION

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A. Summary . . . . . .

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CHAPTER SEVEN

SUMMARY AND CONCLUDING DISCUSSION

A. Summary

(1) Synthesis of the foregoing conclusions.

In attempting to summarize the various conclusions of the foregoing chapter, we have found that a survey of the Association Test Returns of 1776 has been most productive of definite results. We have limited this survey to those towns where nine or more men refused to sign the Test. But we first wish to call attention to several significant facts regarding the Test,

(2) An analysis of the Association Test of 1776.

(a) While it pledged the signers "to resist by force any hostile acts of Great Britain against the Colonies" it did not commit them to Independence.[1]

(b) The Selectmen of the various towns allowed the people plenty of time for deliberation, and used no compulsion. In one town, "this paper stood up at the Meeting-house door three Sabbaths".[2]

(c) The Returns represent only sixty-six per cent of the (male)? population in 1776.[3]

(d) "Refusing the Test did not, alone, make a man a Loyalist; nor did the signing of it make him, in fact, a Revolutionist".[4]

(e) It is evident, then, that we must proceed with considerable caution in attempting to base any definite conclusions upon the Returns of the Test, alone. But, when taken in conjunction with the various groups of evidence offered in the preceding chapter, the following Tabular View becomes highly significant;

---

1. State Papers of New H., XXX, 2.
2. Ibid., p. 55. The returns show that it was signed by the various towns all the way from May to November.
3. Hammond, Tories of New H., p. 7. Note also that the returns from Dover, Exeter, Hanover, Holderness, Derryfield, et al, are either missing or incomplete.
4. Ibid., pp. 10-11.

(3) Tabular View of the Association Test Returns (from all towns where nine or more refused to sign).

1. Barrington (12) Quaker group here (see Table V, App.)
2. Brentwood (18) Large Baptist church here (Table III, App.)
3. Chesterfield (13) A Baptist group here (Table III, App.)
4. Claremont (31) Episcopal Church here (Table IV, App.)
5. Deerfield (20) Baptist Church here (Table III, App.)
6. Dunbarton (10) A Presbyterian group here (Table II, App.)
7. Epping (11) A Quaker group here (Table V, app.)
*8. Gilmanton (36) A Baptist Church here (Table III, App.)
9. Hampstead (21) A Baptist group here (Table III, App.)
10. Henniker (22) Uncertain; Hurd, Hist. of Merr. & Belknap Co's, p.347.
11. Hinsdale (10) A Baptist group here (Table III, App.)
12. Hopkinton (14) A Baptist church here (Table III, App.)
13. Keene (13) A Baptist group here (Table III, App.)
*14. Kensington (20) A Quaker group here (Table V, App.)
*15. Kingston (14) A Baptist group here (Table III, App.)
16. Lee (14) Evidently some Quakers here (see Table V, App.)
17. Londonderry (15) Two Presbyterian churches here (Table II, App.)
18. New Boston (47) Presbyterian Church here (Table II, App.)
19. New Market (38) No church or group of any sort here.
*20. Nottingham (25) Baptist church here (Table III, App.)
21. Pembroke (9) Presbyterian Church here (Table II, App.)
22. Portsmouth (29) Episcopal Church (et al) here (Table IV, App.)
*23. Richmond (73) Two Baptist churches and also Quakers (Tables III and V).
24. Rochester (44) A Quaker "Meeting" here (Table V, App.)
25. Salem (35) A Presbyterian church here (Table II, App.)
26. Sandwich (9) A Quaker group here (Table V, App.)
27. Stratham (42) A Baptist church here (Table III, App.)
*28. Weare (41) Both Baptists and Quakers here (Tables III and V).
29. Winchester (15) Settled Minister was a Tory Congregationalist.

(4) Summary of the foregoing Table:

(1)	No. of Baptist towns where nine or more refused - - - - - -	11
(2)	No. of Quaker towns where nine or more refused - - - - - -	6
(3)	No. of Presbyterian towns where nine or more refused - - -	5
(4)	No. of Episcopalian towns where nine or more refused - - -	2
(5)	No. of Congregational towns where nine or more refused - -	1
(6)	Towns having no church or group - - - - - - - - - - - - - -	2
(7)	Towns having both Baptists and Quakers - - - - - - - - - -	2
	Total number of towns where nine or more refused	29

* Some ~~signers~~ gave religious reasons for refusing to sign.

(5) Observations (based on the Tabular View).

In view of the fact that but three towns are found, among all the twenty-nine, in which none of the smaller denominations were represented, the evidence seems to us quite conclusive that the corporate influence of the smaller Denominations was quite conservative, in 1776. Although Hammond says that some who refused to sign were undoubted Patriots, and supported the war to the extent of their moral and financial ability,[1] it is self-evident that no man would have refused to sign had he been an agitator for Revolution, or had he openly expressed himself in favor of Revolt prior to the Test. We take our stand here without any fear of contradition. It is evident, then, that neither the individual attitudes, nor the corporate attitude, of the smaller Denominations furnish an adequate explanation of the sudden change in public opinion which occurred in New Hampshire, early in '76.

3. Concluding Discussion

(1) The right viewpoint.

The only way in which we have been able to arrive at a clear understanding of the relation of the New Hampshire churches to the American Revolution is by regarding the church as a social institution (furnishing the only "community centres" of that day.) Of special significance was the long "mooning" between services on the Sabbath, when the questions of the hour were thrashed out between neighbors who otherwise had little intercourse. Let us see, now, how the nature of the revolt, itself, lends significance to this point of view.

(2) The real nature of the revolt in New Hampshire.

In the writings of a keen observer who lived through all those days of stress, we find the following explanation of the situation: After quoting from the conciliatory resolutions adopted by the Exeter Convention, in January, '76,* Belknap comments upon them, as follows;

---

1. Tories of New H., p. 11.
* This convention set up the 1st provisional State Govt. in America.

"Such was the language and such the sentiments of the people of that time. And had the British Government - on the removal of their troops from Boston - treated with us upon the principle of reconciliation, they might, even then, have preserved their connection with us . . . . . But, in the course of a few months,[1] we not only found our petitions disregarded, . . . but their hostile intentions became so evident that there could be no hope of safety for us without dissolving our connections with them. Britain had engaged foreign mercenaries to assist in subjugating us. Justice required that we should - in our turn - court foreign aid. But this could not be had whilst we acknowledged ourselves subjects of the Crown against which we were struggling.

"These sentiments having been set forth in their just light by various publications and addresses had such force as to produce a total change of public opinion. Independence became the general voice of the same people who, but a few months before, had petitioned for reconciliation"."

(3) The Churches as transmitters of political propaganda.

It is evident, then, that the immediate cause of the revolt was political propaganda.* With this point cleared up, it now becomes easy to understand the relation of the churches to the Revolutionary movement; it was simply that of transmitting stations for the socio-political contagion which spread over New England from Boston as a centre. Boston, 'the hot-bed of sedition', whose townspeople "sniffed the approach of tyranny in every tainted breeze".[3]

(4) Evidence in support of this interpretation.

But is there any other evidence besides that offered by Belknap - with which to back up our explanation of events? Yes, we have several lines of additional evidence: first, New Hampshire, like Rhode Island, had no real "casus belli" within her own borders (although in "The New Hampshire Grants" - just across her western boundary - "the casus belli" was unmistakable").[4] Secondly, "the spirit of violent resentment, which was excited against all those who were suspected of a disposition inimical to the American cause",[5] is one of the surest hall-marks of political prop-

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1. Italics are mine.
2. Belknap, Hist. of New H., I, 366.
3. Quoted from a letter of Gen. Gage by Thornton in his Pulpit of the Amer. Revolution.
4. Americana, Vol. 21 (Article on Vermont History by Stillson)
5. Belknap, Hist. of New H., I, 361.

* Snow says that, at the time the Exeter Resolutions were adopted, (Jan'y, 1776) "the propagandists for independence seemed yet a long way from their goal". (Hist. Address, p. 32)

agenda. And, again, we should not fail to take into account the attitude of the Massachusetts clergy. Van Tyne has said that "they raked the Bible with a fine Calvinistic comb for every quotation which would seem to give divine sanction to resistance to Great Britain".[1] And Levin goes so far as to say: "Those persons who have read any of the great number of Puritan sermons which were then printed - as well as preached - will cease to wonder that many people were worked up into a state of frenzy".[2]

That this 'frenzy' became contagious, and soon overlept the bounds of the Mother Colony, is now a matter of history. But we are not trying to accuse New Hampshire of having suffered from an attack of 'folie à deux'; for those whose forebears fought at Bunker Hill, and elsewhere, rejoice that she did not wait until her own domain had been invaded before joining the Common Cause.

(5) Review of the Argument - Chapter by Chapter.

We place our main reliance, however, upon a review of the evidence brought out in the various sections of the foregoing thesis. In the Introduction we showed what a close connection existed between New Hampshire and Massachusetts both politically and socially. We also called attention to the homogeneous nature of New Hampshire society - which rendered her peculiarly susceptible to the spread of political propaganda. In Chapter I, we stressed frontier conditions, which tended to fuse Presbyterian churches into the Congregational system. Chapter II brought out the fact that three-fourths of all the New Hampshire churches were congregational. That, and the two following chapters, made plain the close religious ties between New Hampshire and Massachusetts. In Chapter V, we emphasized the social functioning of the frontier churches. And finally, in Chapter Six, we saw that no adequate "casus belli" could be found in either the political or economic situation in New Hampshire.

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1. "Influence of the Clergy", etc. A. H. R., XIX, 56.
2. "Religious Controversy as Effecting the Amer. Revol.," Americana, VIII, 43.

(6) A Brief Re-statement of Our Conclusion

It is, then, only by weaving together all the foregoing lines of evidence that we can find a satisfactory explanation of the relation of the New Hampshire churches to the American Revolution. This relation may be most briefly summed up, as follows: The churches - as represented by their Clergy - were not, on the whole, active in promoting the Revolution during its earlier stages. But- as the only "Social Centres" of their day - they served as transmitting stations for the Revolutionary propaganda which spread into New Hampshire from Massachusetts.

(C) - PARADIGTORI

In the foregoing chapters we have endeavored to build up - upon a rational and symmetric plan - a structure of facts which should be substantial enough to bear the capstone of a definite conclusion. Could we now out turn on, throughout this structure, an electric current - bearing "the spirit of '76"- I doubt not that our mass of dull facts would become incandescent, and fuse into a glowing and harmonious whole. But "The spirit of the Times" is largely beyond our power either to evoke or to properly evaluate - should it answer our summons.

We must content ourselves, then, with having attained our main objective. But when we look at the tremendous strides which religion has made since those pioneer days - giving us "A Free Church in a Free State" - we gladly echo the recent words of Calvin Coolidge:*

* "AS THE NATION HAS PROSPERED, LET US, THE PEOPLE, SHOW THAT WE ARE WORTHY TO PROSPER, BY REDEDICATING AMERICA TO THE SERVICE OF GOD AND MAN".

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*Thanksgiving Proclamation, Washington, Nov. 5, 1924.

APPENDIX A

TABLES OF CHURCH STATISTICS FOR 1776

		Page
I	Status of the Congregationalists	III
	Summary of the Congregationalists	VIII
II	Status of the Presbyterians	IX
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III	Status of the Baptists	XI
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IV	Status and Summary of the Episcopalians	XIII
V	Status of the Quakers	XIV
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VI	Summary of the Tables	XVII

(A) Tables of Statistics.

(THE STATUS OF THE CHURCHES IN 1776)

*Explanatory Note

(Tables are arranged according to numerical strength.)

Table I (The Congregationalists) is based principally on Lawrence's New Hampshire Churches, (1856) and checked by Gerould, & by Farmer.

Table II (The Presbyterians) is based on Lawrence and also was checked by the New Hampshire Repository 1845-6) I, 179, ff.

Table III (The Baptists) is based on Asplunds' Baptist Register and also on Backus, A History of the Baptists in New England.

Table IV (The Episcopalians) is based on Hawkins, The Missions of the Church of England, and also on Tiffany, A History of the Prot. Episc. Church in the U. S. A., and was checked and enlarged by reference to various other authorities.

Table V (The Quakers) is based on State and Town Papers of New Hampshire and various other sources.

Table VI is a Summary, by Denominations.
N. B. The Summary is followed by a Note on the Census of 1776.

Abbreviations.

M. H. stands for Meeting-House.
Org. Ch. stands for Organized a Church.
Revol'y Pastor means the pastor of the church during the (early) revolutionary period.
(H) means a graduate of Harvard College.
(Y) means a graduate of Yale College.
(P) means a graduate of Princeton.
(E) means a graduate of Edinburgh University..
(G) means a graduate of Glasgow University.
a. means about.
b. means before.

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*In our Tables we have used only the five counties into which New Hampshire was divided in 1772; also where names of towns have changed we have given the old name as it was in 1776.

I. (A) Congregational Churches -- Rockingham County

Town	Built	Org.Ch.	Revol'y Pastor	Reference
1. Atkinson	1768	1772	Stephen Peabody	Lawrence, p. 16
2. Brentwood	b.1748	1748	Nathaniel Trask(H)	" p. 20
3. Candia	1766	1771	David Jewett	" p. 23
4. Canterbury	a.1750	1760	Abiel Foster(H)	" p.360
5. Chester	1731	1731	Ebenezer Flagg(H)	" p. 27
6. Concord	1730	1730	Timothy Walker(H)	" p.365
7. Danville	____	b.1763	John Page	" p. 35
8. Deerfield	____	1772	Timothy Upham(H)	" p. 38
9. Epping	____	1747	Josiah Stearns(H)	" p. 45
10. Epsom	____	1761	John Tucke (H)	" p.382
11. Exeter	____	1638 &'98	Woodbridge Odlin(H)	" p. 47
12. Exeter 2d Ch.	____	1744	Daniel Rogers(H)	" p. 50
*13. Gosport	b.1641		Jeremiah Shaw	" p. 53
14. Greenland	____	1706	Samuel McClintock(P)	" p. 57
15. Hampstead	____	1752	Henry True (H)	" p. 61
16. Hampton	a.1638	b.1638	Ebenezer Thayer(H)	" p. 63
17. Hampton Falls	1711	1711	Paine Wingate(H)	" p. 75
18. Kensington	____	1737	Jeremiah Fogg(H)	" p. 81
19. Kingston	a.1703	1726	A.Tappan & B.Thayer	" p. 84
20. Kingston East	____	1739	Peter Coffin	" p. 88
21. Newcastle	b.1706	1671	Stephen Chase(H)	" p. 95
22. Newington	____	1715	Joseph Adams(H)	" p.100
23. Newtown	____	a.1759	Jonathan Eames(H)	" p.105
24. North Hampton	1734	1739	Joseph Hastings(H)	" p.106
25. Nottingham	____	1742	Benjamin Butler	" p.114
26. Plaistow	____	1730	Gyles Merrill	" p.115
27. Pembroke	____	1737	Jacob Emery (H)	" p.402

*Gosport is not included in Gerould's lists but John Farmer says: "A Mtg. E.House was erected on Hog Is. before 1641. (See "Churches & Ministers in New H". N.H.S. Collections, 3rd S., II, 312.

I. (A) cont.: Congregational Churches -- Rockingham County.

Town	Built M.H.	Org.Ch.	Revol'y Pastor	Reference
28. Portsmouth (Old North Church)	a.1658 1713	1671	Sam'l Langdon(H)	Lawrence,p.117
**29. Portsmouth (Old South Church)	1731	a.1715	Sam'l Haven (1752-1805)	*Brewster,p.319
30. Rye	1725	1726	Sam'l Parsons	Lawrence,p.127
31. Sandown	____	1759	Josiah Cotton	" p.132
32. South Hampton	____	1743	Nath.Noyes(Y)	" p.135
33. South New Market	____	a.1730	John Moody & N.Ervin	" p.136
34. " " " (West Society)			Nath. Ewers	" p.136
35. Stratham	1718	1746?	Joseph Adams	" p.138

I. (B) Congregational Churches -- Hillsborough County.

Town	Built M.H.	Org. Ch.	Revol'y Pastor	Reference
1. Amherst	1739	1741	Dan'l Wilkins(H)	Lawrence,p.150
2. Dunstable(Nashua)	____	1685	Joseph Kinder(Y)	" p.222
3. Francestown	1775	1773	_____	" p.166
4. Goffstown	1768	1771	Jos.Currier(H)	" p.170
5. Hillsborough	a.1741	1769	Jon.Barnes(H)	" p.180
6. Henniker		1769	Jacob Rice (H)	" p.387
7. Hollis	1741	b.1743	Dan'l Emerson(H)	" p.185
8. Hopkinton		1757	Elisah Fletcher	" p.391
9. Nottingham West(Hudson)		1757	Nath.Merrill(H)	" p.187
10. Litchfield		a.1741	Sam'l Cotton	" p.190
11. Lyndeborough	a.1740	1757	Sewall Goodridge(H)	" p.192
12. Mason		1772	Jonathan Searle(H)	" p.206
13. Merrimack	____	1771	Jacob Burnap (H)	" p.210

*Brewster, Rambles about Portsmouth, (Ramble LXIX)

**(Alden's Sketch) Massa. Hist. Soc. Collections, Series One,Vol.X.,pp.53-4

I. (B) Cont. : Congregational Churches -- Hillsborough County.

Town	Built N.H.	Org. Ch.	Revol'y Pastor	Reference
14. Ipswich	1772	1760	Stephen Farrar(H)	Lawrence, p.231
15. Pelham	1746	1751	Amos Moody (H)	" p.237
16. Salisbury	a.1770	1773	Jonathan Searle	" p.409
17. Temple	____	1771	Samuel Webster (H)	" p.242
18. Warner	____	1772	William Kelly	" p.414
19. Wilton	____	1763	Jonathan Livermore(H)	" p.244

I. (C) Congregational Churches -- Cheshire County.

Town	Built N.H.	Org. Ch.	Revol'y Pastor	Reference
1. Acworth	____	1773	_____	Lawrence, p.419
*2. Charleston	____	1754	Dan Foster	" p.425
3. Claremont	____	1770	Aug. Hibbard	" p.428
4. Chesterfield	____	1771	Abraham Wood (H)	" p.254
** 5. Cornish	1773	1760	James Wellman	" p.435
6. Dublin	____	1772	Joseph Farrar(H)	" p.255
7. Fitzwilliam	a.1771	1771	Benjamin Brigham(H)	" p.260
8. Gilsum	1794	1772	_____	" p.263
9. Hinsdale	____	1763	Bunker Gay	" p.270
10. Keene	1736	1738	Clement Sumner(Y)	" p.275
11. Plainfield	____	1804	Abraham Carpenter,1773	" p.470
12. Rindge	____	1765	Seth Bean	" p.285
13. Surry	____	1769	David Darling(Y)	" p.293
14. Swanzey	____	1741	Ed Goddard	" p.293

* Gerould gives the date of the formation of this church as 1835.
**Cornish, N.H. & Windsor, Vt. formed one and the same (church) parish.

I. (B) Cont. : Congregational Churches -- Hillsborough County.

Town	Built N.H.	Org. Ch.	Revol'y Pastor	Reference
14. Ipswich	1772	1760	Stephen Farrar(H)	Lawrence, p.231
15. Pelham	1746	1751	Amos Moody (H)	" p.237
16. Salisbury	a.1770	1773	Jonathan Searle	" p.409
17. Temple	____	1771	Samuel Webster (H)	" p.242
18. Warner	____	1772	William Kelly	" p.414
19. Wilton	____	1763	Jonathan Livermore(H)	" p.244

I. (C) Congregational Churches -- Cheshire County.

Town	Built N.H.	Org. Ch.	Revol'y Pastor	Reference
1. Acworth	____	1773	_____	Lawrence, p.419
*2. Charleston	____	1764	Dan Foster	" p.425
3. Claremont	____	1770	Aug. Hibbard	" p.428
4. Chesterfield	____	1771	Abraham Wood (H)	" p.254
** 5. Cornish	1773	1760	James Wellman	" p.435
6. Dublin	____	1772	Joseph Farrar(H)	" p.255
7. Fitzwilliam	a.1771	1771	Benjamin Brigham(H)	" p.260
8. Gilsum	1794	1772	_____	" p.263
9. Hinsdale	____	1763	Bunker Gay	" p.270
10. Keene	1736	1738	Clement Sumner(Y)	" p.275
11. Plainfield	____	1804	Abraham Carpenter,1773	" p.470
12. Rindge	____	1765	Seth Bean	" p.285
13. Surry	____	1769	David Darling(Y)	" p.293
14. Swanzey	____	1741	Ed Goddard	" p.293

* Gerould gives the date of the formation of this church as 1835.
**Cornish, N.H. & Windsor, Vt. formed one and the same (church) parish.

I. (C) Cont.: Congregational Churches -- Cheshire County.

Town	Built L.H.	Org. Ch.	Revol'y Pastor	Reference
15. Walpole	____	b.1761	Thos.Fessenden(H)	Lawrence,p.332
16. Westmoreland	____	1764	Wm. Goddard (H)	" p.301
17. Winchester	____	1736	Micah Lawrence	" p.306

I. (D) Congregational Churches -- Strafford County.

Town	Built H.H.	Org. Ch.	Revol'y Pastor	Reference
1. Barrington	a.1730	1736	Dav. Tenney	Lawrence,p.315
2. Dover	1633	1638	Jeremy Belknap(H)	" p.317
3. Durham	1655	1718	Dr. John Adams	" p.326
4. Gilmanton (1st)	____	1774	Isaac Smith	" p.490
5. Lee	Org.b.1792(Gerould,p.21)		Samuel Hutchins	Scales(Lee,N.H p.36)
6. Rochester	a.1730	1737	Joseph Haven	Lawrence,p.338
7. Somersworth	1729	1730	James Pike	" p.345
8. Sanbornton	____	1771	Nos.Woodman	" p.507

I. (E) Congregational Churches -- Grafton County.

Town	Built L.H.	Org. Ch.	Revol'y Pastor	Reference
1. Campton	1779	1774	Seldon Church	Lawrence,p.517
*? (Haverhill)	____	1764	Peter Powers	" p.542
2. Lebanon	1772	1768	Isaiah Potter(Y)	" p.549
3. Lyme	1781	1771	Wm Conant(Y)	" p.559
4. Piermont	____	1771	John Richards	" p.570
5. Plymouth	____	1765	Nathan Ward	" p.571

*Included by Gerould, p. 17. Also in "The New H. Register for 1768".

SUPPLEMENTARY LIST OF CONGREGATIONAL GROUPS

1. Alstead Center, 1st Ch. org. 1778, (Gerould, p. 3)
2. Alexandria, org. Ch. in 1778, (" p. 3)
3. Andover (East) or New Briton: From 1761 on (Lawrence, 347)
4. Conway: settled 1764: Ch. org. 1778 (" 582)
5. Camden (Washington) Settled 1768: Ch. Org. 1780 (Lawrence, 475)
6. Danbury: from 1771 on. (Joint services with #2) (" 527)
7. Effingham: (Leavitt's Town) settled b.1775: called Preacher, 1778. (L., 583)
8. Groton: settled 1770: Ch.org. 1779 (Lawrence, 547)
9. Haverhill: formed part of Newbury, Vt. parish (Wells, 61-2)
10. Hebron: org. 1779 (Gerould, p. 17)
*11. Jaffrey: from 1773 on: built M.H., 1775 (Lawrence, 272)
12. Lempster: org. Ch. 1781 (Gerould, p. 21)
13. Marlborough: Some preaching, 1771 on . (Lawrence, 280)
14. Middleton: settled a minister, 1778 (Lawrence, 335)
15. Mont Vernon (Parish) in Amherst: 1765 on (" 216)
*16. Moultonborough: Built M.H. 1773 (Coolidge & Mansfield, 584)
17. Northwood: settled 1763: M. H. 1781 (" " 606)
*18. Newport: Regular worship, (1766 on) M.H., '73 (Lawrence, 466)
19. Nelson (Packersfield) Inc. 1774: org. Ch. 1781 (Coolidge & Mansfield, 592)
*20. New Durham: Had settled preacher, 1773-7 (Lawrence, 338)
21. Plainfield (Meridan) org. Ch. 1780 (Gerould, p. 29)
22. Thornton: settled 1770: org. Ch. 1780 (C.&M., 665)
23. Tamworth: Occasional preaching, 1772-8 (Lawrence, 591)
24. Raymond: House preaching, 1764 on. (Lawrence, 123.)

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* Included on our Map.

SUMMARY OF THE CONGREGATIONALISTS

1.	Rockingham County	35	Churches
2.	Hillsborough "	19	"
3.	Cheshire "	17	"
4.	Strafford "	8	"
5.	Grafton "	5	"
	Total	84	Churches
	No. of un-organized groups	24	
	Total No. of Towns	108	

II. (A) Presbyterian Churches -- Rockingham County.

Town	Built N.H.	Org. Ch.	Revol'y Pastor	Reference
* 1. Chester	1739	a.1734	John Wilson(E)	Lawrence, p. 27
2. Londonderry (New Derry) (West Parish)	____	1719	David MacGregore	" p. 88
3. Londonderry (East Parish)	____	1735	William Davidson	" p. 38
4. Pembroke	____	b.1757	Daniel Mitchell(E)	" p.402
5. Salem	1739	1740	Abner Bailey	" p.130
6. Seabrook	____	1764	Samuel Perley(H)	" p.133
7. Windham	1754	a.1742	Simon Williams	" p.144

II. (B) Presbyterian Churches -- Hillsborough County.

Town	Built N.H.	Org. Ch.	Revol'y Pastor	Reference
1. Bedford	____	1750	John Houston(P)	Lawrence, p.155
2. Francestown	1775	1773	_____	" p.166
3. Nottingham West (Hudson)		1771	John Strickland	Blaikie, p.168 N.H.Repository I, 180.
4. New Boston	____	1768	Solomon Moore(G)	Lawrence, p.229
**5. Peterborough	____	1766	John Morrison-till 1772	" p.240
6. Boscawen[1]	a.1735	1740	Nathaniel Merrill	" p.349

*Chester is not included in Gerould's lists.
** Gerould gives the date of organization as 1822.
1. This church had a mixed form of discipline. (C.+P.)

II. (C) Presbyterian Churches -- Grafton County

Town	Built L.H.	Org. Ch.	Revol'y Pastor	References
1. Hanover (Coll. Chapel)		1771	E. Wheelock	Lawrence, 533
2. Hanover Centre	1772	____	E. Burroughs	" 539
3. Orford (or Orfordville)		1770	Obadiah Noble	" 565

SUPPLEMENTARY LIST OF PRESBYTERIAN GROUPS

1. Auburn, org. 1734 - Gerould, p. 5.
2. Bath: Inc. 1769: Ch. org. with Pastor, 1778 (Lawrence, 509)
3. Croydon:* Built L. H. 1774: Ch. org. 1778 (" 444)
4. Deering: Inc. 1772: occasional preaching (" 152)
5. Dunbarton:* L.H., 1767, Stark, Hist. of Dunbarton, pp. 20 & 152

*6. Goffstown: Built L. H., 1768: Ch. org. 1781 (Lawrence, 170)

*We have included Croydon and Goffstown on our Map.

SUMMARY OF THE PRESBYTERIANS

1.	Rockingham County - - - - - - - - - -	7 Churches
2.	Hillsborough " - - - - - - - - - -	6 "
3.	Grafton " - - - - - - - - - -	3 "
	Total- - - - - - - - -	16 Churches
	Other Presby. Groups - - - - - - - -	6
	Total - - - - - - - -	22

*Gerould says the Goffstown Church was org. in 1771 (p. 15)

(Note) Town Papers of New H. also contain a petition for a Presby. Society from certain inhabitants of Hampton Falls (IX, 363)

III. (A) Baptist Churches -- Rockingham County.

Town	Built M.H.	Org. Ch.	Revol'y Pastor	Reference
1. Brentwood	____	1771	Sam'l Shepard	Asplund, p. 11
2. Stratham	____	1771	" "	Backus, II, 535 Ibid., " "
3. Nottingham	____	1771	" "	Ibid., " "
4. Deerfield	____	1770	Eliph. Smith	Backus, II, 308

III. (B) Baptist Churches -- Hillsborough County.

Town	Built M.H.	Org. Ch.	Revol'y Pastor	Reference
1. Weare	____	1768	_____	Backus, II, 537
2. Hopkinton	____	1771	_____	Asplund, p. 10

Note: These two churches died down during the Revolution, but were revived in 1783 & 1794, respectively.

III. (C) Baptist Churches -- Cheshire County.

Town	Built M. H.	Org. Ch.	Revol'y Pastor	Reference
1. Westmoreland	____	1771	Eben. Bailey	Asplund, p. 10
2. Richmond	____	1770	Nathanean Ballou	" p. 10
3. Richmond, 2nd Ch.	____	1775	Art. Aldrich	" p. 10

III. (D) Baptist Churches -- Strafford County.

1. Gilmanton	1772		_____	Asplund, p. 11 Backus, II, 536

III. (E) Baptist Churches -- Grafton County.

1. Lebanon	1771		No Pastor	Backus, II, 308

(Had only 12 members in 1784).

SUPPLEMENTARY LIST OF BAPTIST GROUPS

* 1. Chesterfield: Cathcart, Baptist Encyclopedia, p. 835.

2. Hampstead: Noyes, Memorial Hist. of Hampstead, II, 10.

* 3. Hinsdale: Cummings, Baptist Churches of N.H., p. 8.

4. Keene: Griffin, Keene, N.H., p. 37

5. Kingston: Hazlett, Hist. of Rock. Co., N.H., p. 496

* 6. Madbury: Cummings; Baptist Churches in N. H., p. 5.

7. Marlow: Cummings, " " " pp. 8-9

8. Newton:* Ch. died in 1765; group remained: Backus II, 308 & 535

9. Rindge: Stearns, Hist. of Rindge, 1912 & Backus II, 539 (Note)

*We have included Newton on our Map.

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* Cummings says churches were organized here, in 1770.

Note: We are not including in the above lists any of the numerous Baptist Churches organized in 1781, as we have no evidence that there were even any Baptist Groups there, prior to the revival.

SUMMARY OF THE BAPTISTS

1.	Rockingham County	4	Churches
2.	Hillsborough "	2	"
3.	Cheshire "	3	"
4.	Strafford "	1	"
5.	Grafton "	1	"
	Total	11	Churches
	Other Baptist Groups	9	
	Total	20	

(Note) Town Papers of New Hampshire also gives a list of 30 Baptists - "Supposed"- in Plaistow, in 1768 (See Vol. IX, p. 40)

TABLE IV: EPISCOPALIAN CHURCHES

Town	County	Org.Ch.	Revol'y Pastor	Reference
1. Portsmouth	(Rock)	1756	Parish Vacant	Hawkins, 217
2. Claremont	(Grafton)	1770	Ranna Cossit	Tiffany, 216

Supplementary List of Episcopal Groups:

1. Holderness (Grafton County) Church of England folk here in 1770-ministered to from time to time by Moses Badger, Itinerant S.P.G. Missionary. (We have included this group on our Map)

References:

(a) Stackpole, Hist. of New H., II, 317.

(b) Granite Monthly, XLI (1909), 62.

(c) Lawrence, New H. Churches, p. 500.

(Possibly this list should also include Canterbury, Boscawen, Pembroke, and Nottingham, where Rev. Arthur Browne had occasionally ministered, 1765: see Chapter II)

SUMMARY OF THE EPISCOPALIANS

Regularly organized churches - - - - - -	2
Groups of worshippers - - - - - - - - - -	1
Total	3

*TABLE V : THE QUAKERS.

I. Organized Quaker "Meetings"

(1) Dover Monthly Meeting : had a Quarterly Meeting also

Scales, Hist. of Strafford County, p. 114

(2) Hampton Monthly Meeting (now Seabrook)

Belonged to the Salem, Mass. Quarterly Meeting.

Hurd, Hist. of Rock. & Straff. Counties, p. 223.

Jones, The Quakers in the Amer. Colonies, p.142, Note 1.

(3) Rochester. Had intermittent Meetings from 1751 on.

Belonged to Dover Monthly.

22 Quakers here refused the Test in 1776.

State Papers of New H., VIII, 276.

McDuffee, Hist. of Rochester, N.H., p. 257.

Hurd, Hist. of Rock. & Straff. Counties, p. 729.

(4) Weare. Set up a "Preparative Meeting" in 1776-7, but belonged to the Hampton Monthly.

41 Quakers here refused the Test in 1776.

Little, Hist. of Weare, N.H., p. 205

State Papers of New H., VIII, 291.

SUMMARY OF QUAKER MEETINGS

No. of regularly organized "Meetings" - - - - -	2
No. of semi-organized " - - - - -	2
Total - - - - - - - - - - - - -	4 Meetings

* See p. ~~24~~ 37 (a) for a revision of this Table.

II. SUPPLEMENTARY LISTS OF MINOR GROUPS

(A) Those existing in 1776.

(1) Kensington. Set off from Hampton, 1737.

Under Hampton Monthly : 12 Quakers here refused Test.

Hurd, Hist. of Rock. & Straff. Counties, p. 223

State Papers of New H., VIII, 244.

(2) Barrington. 12 Quakers refused the Test here in 1776, doubtless under Dover Monthly.

Scales: Hist. of Strafford Co., p. 381

Hurd, Hist. of Rock. & Straff. Counties, p. 611

State Papers of New H., VIII, 13.

(3) Epping. Held religious meetings in private houses(1746-88) 11 men refused the Test here.

Hurd, Hist. of Rock. & Straff. Counties, pp. 223-4

State Papers of New H.; VIII, 232

(4) Hawke (or Danville) State Papers of New H., VIII

(B) Groups mentioned at earlier dates

(1) Somersworth Inc. 1754: 34 Quakers enlisted in the Militia (or sent Sub's) in 1761.

Town Papers of New H., XI, 709.

State Papers of New H., XXVIII, 263.

"Register of New H. for 1768" in Collections of N.H. Hist. Soc., I, 281.

(2) Brentwood. Their organized Meeting was broken up by the Hampton Monthly in 1748.

14 Quakers here about 1761: 4 in the French War.

Hurd: Hist. of Rock. & Straff. Counties, p. 223.

Town Papers, XI, 226-7-8. State Papers, VIII, 217.

(3) Exeter. 28 male Quakers here in 1761.

Town Papers, XI, 227 and State Papers, VIII, pp.232 & 248.

(4) Durham-Lee. Lee set off from Durham, 1766.

8 Quakers in the French War: Exempted, 1761 (tax)

Town Papers, XI, 227 and New H. Laws, III, 230.

(5) Sandwich. Settled in 1764: "In the early settlement of the town the Friends assembled for public worship".

Lawrence, The New H. Churches, p. 588.

(C) Small Groups mentioned at various dates.

(1) Hollis (2) Nottingham West (Hudson) (3) Pelham (4) Dow (5) *Newton (6) Poplin (7) Richmond.

SUMMARY OF THE QUAKERS

No. of "Meetings" in 1776 - - - - - - - - - - -	4
Other Groups " " - - - - - - - - - - -	4
Groups mentioned at earlier dates - - - - - -	5
Small Groups -- at Various dates - - - - - -	7
Total - - - - - - - - - - -	20

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*Newton is one of only four groups (Hampton Falls, Dover, Somersworth and Newton) in the "Register of N. H. for 1768".

VI. SUMMARY OF THE TABLES

Total number of Congregational Churches - - - -	84
Total number of Presbyterian Churches - - - - -	16
Total number of Baptist Churches - - - - - - - -	11
Total number of Episcopalian Churches - - - - -	3
Total number of Quaker Meetings - - - - - - - -	4
Total for all the Denominations	118

Number of churches of all denominations to each 1000 of population in 1776 -- 1.4-

Note re the Census of 1776

The Census of 1775 gives no totals by counties, or for the State. By adding the totals of the separate towns,[1] I figured out a total population of 80, 715, including slaves. Willey gives it as 82,200.[2] In estimating the number of churches per one thousand of population I used the even number, eighty thousand.

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1. Provincial Papers of New Hampshire, VII, pp. 780-81.

2. State Builders, p. 5. (However, in the Granite Monthly, Vol. 41, p. 57, the population of New for 1775 is given by Thayer as 90,000)

APPENDIX B

BIBLIOGRAPHY

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	Bibliographical Note	XIX
I	Primary Material	XX
II	Secondary Material	XXV
III	List of Reference Works	XXXIII
IV	Libraries visited, or consulted	XXXV

*BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

Altho nearly one-third of our Bibliography consists of Primary material, we were able to secure but a very limited amount of such for certain of the denominations. Those for which the most ample sources are available are the Episcopalians and Baptists. Aside from scattering references in the State Papers, we found practically no source material on New Hampshire Quakers. We are even more poverty-struck as regards the Presbyterians; and even when we come to the Congregationalists, we still are restricted to a very limited range of primary sources. The only books which we could not locate were Passell's One Hundred Years of the S.P.G., + Vol. I. of Allen's Triennial Baptist Register, (Philadelphia, 1836)

N. B.

UNLESS OTHERWISE INDICATED, ALL OF THE MATERIAL LISTED IN OUR BIBLIOGRAPHY IS TO BE FOUND IN EITHER THE HARPER MEMORIAL LIBRARY, (U OF C) OR IN THE NEWBERRY LIBRARY, CHICAGO. WE WERE CONFINED TO MATERIAL ACCESSIBLE IN THE MIDDLE WEST WITH THE EXCEPTION OF A FEW VOLUMES OR PAMPHLETS LOANED BY VARIOUS NEW H. LIBRARIES, AND THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS.

* The wealth of New H. Bibliography is well shown by the fact that for a bibliography of Manchester alone, Mr. S.C. Gould has listed over 1600 books, pamphlets, + magazines (see Dover P.L. Catalog)

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(Compiled by the Newberry Staff)

The Union Catalog of cards printed by the following:

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IV. LIBRARIES VISITED, OR CONSULTED

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(2) The Rosenwald Library
(3) Haskell Library (in the Divinity School)
(4) The Law Library
(5) Classics Library
(6) The School of Education Library

(B) Elsewhere in Chicago and Vicinity.
(1) The Newberry Library
(2) Virginia Library (McCormick Theological Seminary)
(3) The Chicago Theological Seminary
(4) The John Crerar Library
(5) The Chicago Public Library
(6) The Garrett Biblical Institute Library, Evanston, Ills.
(7) The Orrington Lunt Library, Northwestern University.

(C) Outside of Chicago.
(1) Missouri Historical Society of St. Louis (Jefferson Memorial)
(2) The Ridgeley Library - Washington University - St Louis.
(3) The Mercantile Library of St. Louis.
(4) The Ills. State Historical Society at Springfield.
(5) The St. Louis Public Library.

(D) Libraries which we have corresponded with:-
(1) The New Hampshire State Library, at Concord.
(2) The Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.
(3) The Friends' Historical Library, Swarthmore College, Pa.
(4) Dartmouth College Library, Hanover, N. H.
(5) The New Hampshire Historical Society, Concord.
(6) The Public Library, Dover, N. H.
(7) The State Historical Society, of Wisconsin.
(8) The President White Library, Cornell University
(9) The Library of Wellesley College (our Alma Mater, 1908)
(10) The American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass.

(total = 28 libraries)

(Cartographical Note)

On our map (see inside of back cover) we have used only the five counties into which New Hampshire was divided in 1772, instead of the present division into ten counties.

Also, in all cases where the name of a town has been changed, since the Revolution we have given it its old name, so as to reproduce, as nearly as possible, the situation as it was in 1776.

In its essential features, our map is simply a reproduction of the map of New Hampshire made by D. F. Sotzman and published in Hamburg, 1796, by Carl Ernst Bohn.

N. B. ALL UNMARKED TOWNS HAD CONGREGATIONAL CHURCHES
TOWNS IN PARENTHESES HAD UNORGANIZED CHURCH GROUPS
but had regular preaching + a M-house.

Key to the Symbols:

C — Shows the location of a Congregational Church*

P — Shows the location of a Presbyterian Church

E — Shows the location of an Episcopalian Church

Q — Shows the location of a Quaker "Meeting"

B — Shows the location of a Baptist Church

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* This mark - C- is used only for towns with churches of two denominations.

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- -

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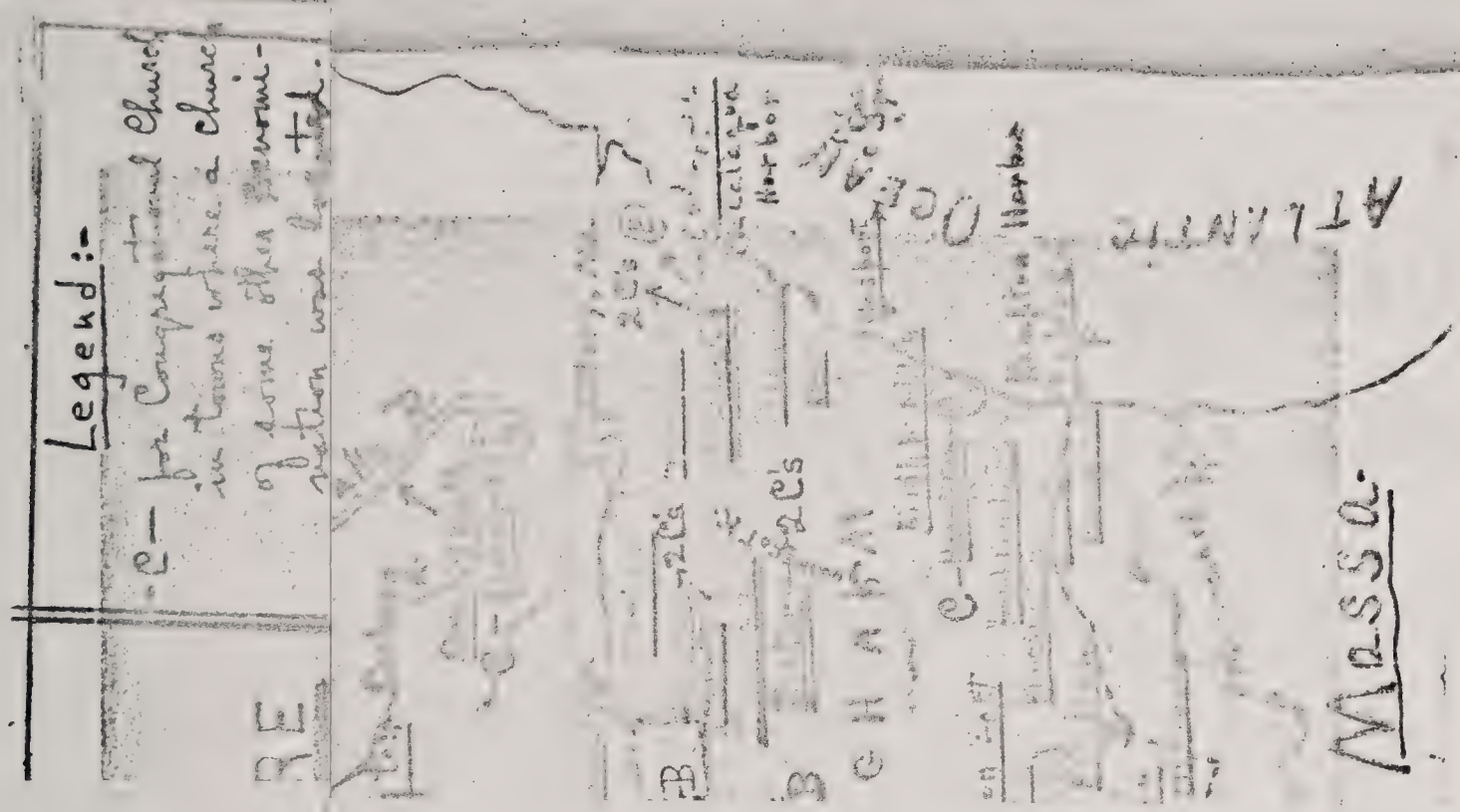

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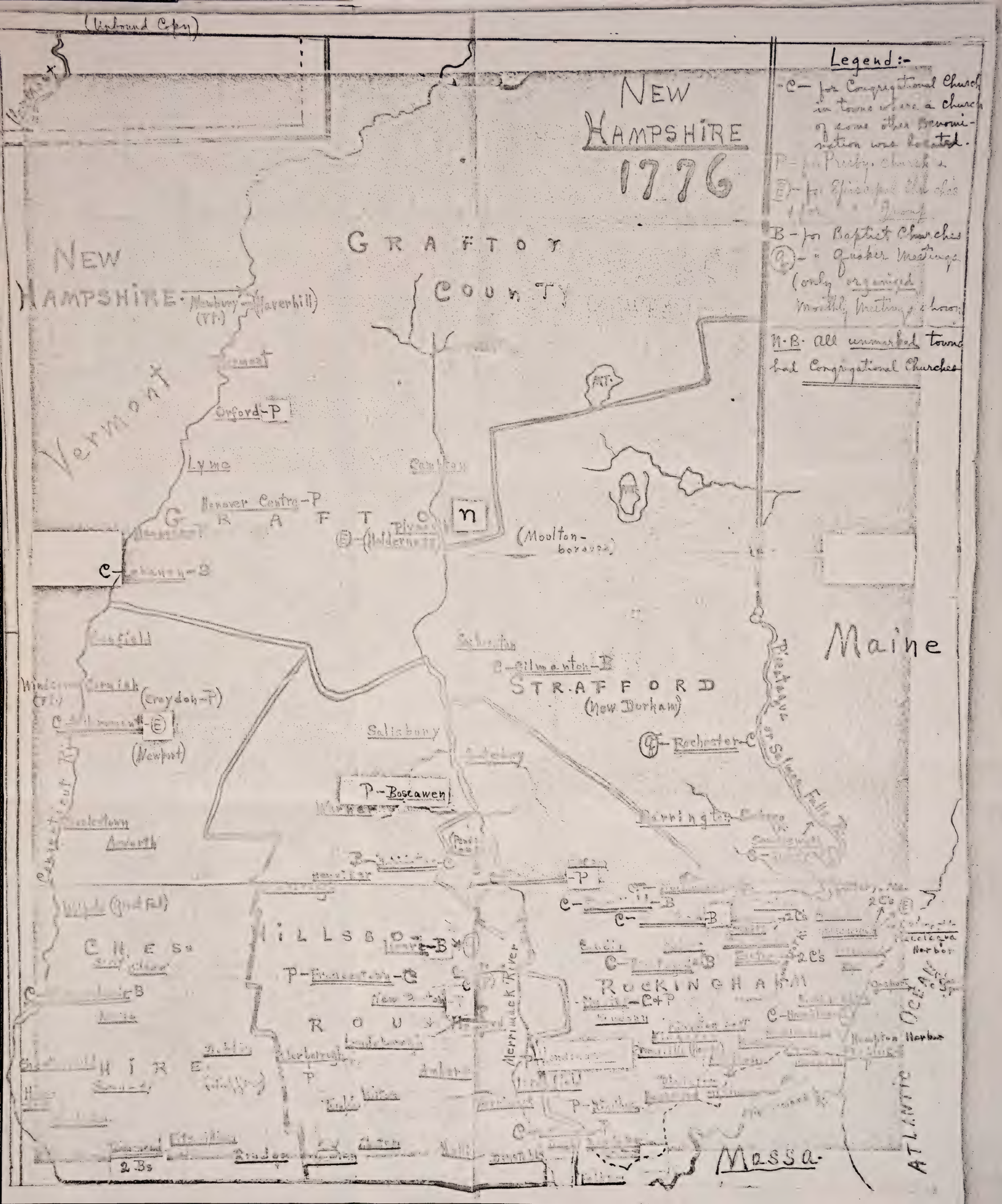

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